The Values of Nighttime in Classical Antiquity

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The Values of Nighttime in Classical Antiquity

Between Dusk and Dawn

Edited by

James Ker
Antje Wessels

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INTRODUCTION

The Values of Nighttime in Classical Antiquity

Antje Wessels and James Ker

1 Shades of 'Nightlife'

In the eighteenth century, before the invention of electricity and the light bulb,[1] night was night and day was day.[2] Night meant darkness, fear and disorientation, sleep and dreams; day meant light, orientation, wakefulness. As a consequence, people aimed at getting rid of the darkness, at prolonging the day and shortening the night. When Thomas Edison was celebrated as the inventor of 'nightlife,' this was not only alluding to drunken nighthawks who try to find their way back home;[3] rather, it was pointing to the removal of languidness and stagnation. During the period of industrialization, 'nightlife' meant: 'go to work—and don't feel hindered by possible darkness.' Thus, 'nightlife' meant progress: increased opportunities, economic advancement, sleepless energy, forgetting that the night ever existed. In a certain way, night was meant to be *replaced* by the features of the day.

That said, artificial light also turned into a device that could intensify the negative aspects of daylight. Illumination meant safety—and control.[4] When nocturnal bohemians in nineteenth-century Paris destroyed lamps and lanterns, their action aimed at a symbolic revolution against the regulations and values of the State: they claimed to be recapturing the night and withdrawing

1 Although Edison patented the light bulb in 1883, it was the result of a long process of development; see Schivelbusch 1983, 60–67.

2 Gaslight was introduced only in 1830, electricity in the 1870s; see Schivelbusch 1983, 70, 54–78. First attempts, however, to introduce a fixed public lighting system were made in the sixteenth century (Schivelbusch 1987, 61–62) and already in the fourth century CE, e.g., in Antioch, Ephesus, and Alexandria; see Wilson 2018, 66–72 and Dossey 2018.

3 Until the ninteenth century, there were cities in which people were not even allowed to leave the house during the night (Nahrstedt 1972, 88). The celebration of spectacles under the night sky, too, is a rather recent development. In Medieval and Renaissance festival culture, public open-air feasts were largely celebrated before sunset. Only in Baroque culture did people begin to celebrate them during the night; see Alewyn 1959, 31 and Schivelbusch 1983, 131–148. Ancient examples of nocturnal illumination are often part of an act of (moral) transgression: e.g., Nero, during the persecution of Christians, used their human bodies as living torches to illuminate a nocturnal spectacle (Tac. *Ann.* 15.44).

4 On the relation between security and control see Hamilton 2013.

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from governmental supervision. For, as Wolfgang Schivelbusch has pointed out, the nocturnal illumination of the city was also employed as a monitoring tool in order to bridle subversive powers—especially during the night.[5]

When we think of 'nightlife' today, we have (hopefully) something completely different in mind; and our associations are certainly far more positive. In our modern understanding of 'nightlife,' the night (again) has turned into a semantic space related to *specific* attitudes, events, and forms of social communication. To live by night does not mean to get rid of the darkness, but to use darkness productively. Artificial light in skilful arrangement is a crucial feature, but its effects can only be unfolded within and in relation to a dark environment. The night and its darkness are part of the game. Instead of leading to disorientation, the 'night' in our modern 'nightlife' is quite as safe as the day. Yet, night and day, as *social* concepts, each have their own rules and requirements. Night and day, similiar to their metaphorical brothers and sisters, such as light and darkness or eyesight and blindness, are now (or, again) considered as opposites, or even as antagonists, which basically *exclude* each other.

The polarity of night vs. day, however, should not be taken for granted. In Greek mythology, the connotations of 'day' and 'light' were certainly mostly positive, while 'night' and its associates were in large part negative—at least at first sight. In his *Theogony*, Hesiod presents Night as born from Chaos, with Death and Sleep as her sons, responsible for whatever humans find repulsive: Blame, Fate, Misery, Anxiety, Old Age, Illusion, Strife, Discord—to name but a few.[6]

This was just one part of the story, of course. For, according to Hesiod, *before* producing all these horrific phenomena, Night had given birth to Aether and Hemera, Heaven and Day (*Th.* 124).[7] The relation between Night and Day, in Hesiod's formulation, is not articulated by polarity, but rather by dependency.

5 Schivelbusch 1983, 98–112 and 1987. The lantern destruction was also reflected in literature, e.g., in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1862); see Hugo 1967, 4.13.2 and 4.15.2 (where, as Schivelbusch 1987, 68 points out, "[l]ight being the representative of law and order in well-policed civil society, darkness thus becomes the medium of the counterorder of the rebellion"). Similarly to many other technical devices, such as railway, television, computer, internet, which were invented and systematically introduced in an economic, political, or even totalitarian context, artificial light was invented not to make life more enjoyable, but to facilitate the process of industrialization. The idea of lamps as observers is present already in antiquity; see Bielfeldt 2015.

6 *Th.* 211–232. These children are without a father. See also Ramnoux 1986 and Atkins' chapter in this volume.

7 These children's father is Nyx's brother Erebus, himself a child of Chaos.

Day follows Night, and not only in temporal sequence, but also in a causative, aetiological sense: Day exists *because* Night has produced it. The Day is Night's offspring. In this sense, Night displays her (first) productive, positive side: she figures as a *beginning* or even an *origin*. According to Orphic cosmogony, Night is the generator of the cosmic egg, from which the bright-winged Eros would spring.[8] And according to Walter Burkert's allegorical interpretation of Parmenides' proem (DK 28, B1), Parmenides made the 'House of Nyx' (δώματα Νυκτός, line 9), where Night and Day have their meeting place, the origin of 'Truth' (Ἀλήθεια).[9] By providing knowledge, Night does not undermine, but actually *facilitates* the values and activities that will matter during the day: ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή.[10]

In Plato's *Laws*, the most important group of the state, the 'nocturnal council' (σύλλογος νυκτερινός), assembles by night (νύκτωρ) or in the early morning before the sun rises (Pl. *Lg.* 908a4, 951d7, etc.).[11] In the dialogue's argument, this time was chosen because its members, during the night, are free from all other obligations. Yet from a broader perspective, choosing the nocturnal period again semanticizes the night as *social* space: being active during the night allows going *beyond* the limits of the social practices and values to be performed during the day, and it opens the mind for bright insights and deep knowledge—not *lux et veritas*, but *nox et veritas*. Night is not only positive because she has produced the Day, or Eros, or Truth. She has something of her own to offer.

It is a common topos that great realizations or innovations are made during the night—or that it has even been a *single* night, spent entirely in pondering and thinking, that suddenly resulted in a new perspective or initiated a crucial

8 Ar. *Av.* 693–702 and, possibly, in the Derveni Papyrus, a poem (fourth/third century BCE?) that was found in 1962 and contains an Orphic cosmogony; cf. col. 11–14 of the fragment in the edition of Betegh 2004. See Betegh 2004, 148–149, 158; Christopoulos 2010; and Edmonds' chapter in this volume.

9 Burkert 1969.

10 The Greek adage ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή ('I shall sleep on it'; e.g., Zen. 3.97, Eust. *Od.* 19.2) draws a connection between night and rest. Nocturnal solitude and silence provide the condition to ponder thoughts carefully and to make well-considered decisions. See, e.g., Erasmus' explanation on *in nocte consilium* in the *Adagiorum Chiliades* (published in 1508) 2.2.43: ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή, *id est 'In nocte consilium.' Admonet adagium non esse praecipitandum consilium neque statim ad primos animi impetus quippiam agendum. Nox autem propter solitudinem ac silentium vel maxime ad considerandum consultandumque de rebus grauibus est idonea* κ.τ.λ.

11 For an extensive discussion of the council, including its meeting times, see Joosse's chapter in this volume.

change. An example from literature is the famous monologue, spoken by the protagonist of Goethe's *Faust 1* (lines 354–364):[12]

Night. In a high-vaulted, narrow Gothic study. Faust, restless on his chair at the desk.
I have, alas, studied philosophy,
Jurisprudence and medicine, too,
And, worst of all, theology
With keen endeavor, through and through—
And here I am, for all my lore,
The wretched fool I was before.
Called Master of Arts, and Doctor to boot,
For ten years almost I confute
And up and down, wherever it goes,
I drag my students by the nose—
And see that for all our science and art
We can know nothing.

Nacht. In einem hochgewölbten, engen, gotischen Zimmer. Faust unruhig auf seinem Sessel am Pulte
Habe nun, ach! Philosophie,
Juristerei und Medizin,
Und leider auch Theologie
Durchaus studiert, mit heißem Bemühn.
Da steh ich nun, ich armer Tor!
Und bin so klug als wie zuvor;
Heiße Magister, heiße Doktor gar
Und ziehe schon an die zehen Jahr
Herauf, herab und quer und krumm
Meine Schüler an der Nase herum—
Und sehe, daß wir nichts wissen können!

Faust's deep-drawn sigh—a variation of the Socratic paradox 'I know I do not know' (οἶδα οὐκ εἰδώς; cf. Pl. *Ap.* 21d), and as such the deepest insight a human being can ever have—is expressed during the night. The symbolic value of the night does not appear out of the blue. From a physical point of view, the

12 Quoted from Goethe 1994, 33; trans. Kaufmann 1963, 93. Goethe's *Faust. Eine Tragödie. Der Tragödie Erster Teil* had been written over a period of 70 years and was first printed in 1808; cf. Schöne (in Goethe 1994), 1, 7.1, p. 785.

night (especially in antiquity, when there was no light pollution from *artificial* sources) is the period of time when humans see the stars and get a glimpse into the universe, and when they realize that they are no more than a small part of the cosmos. The *symbolic* perspective mirrors this very moment of sudden insight and change. When Oedipus realizes what he has done (and that he now knows more than he had known before), he blinds himself.[13] It is a painful, but also very consistent decision. His artificial imposition of visual darkness 'visualizes' that it is not physical eyesight that allows us to actually see and understand, but rather—if at all—the inner, mental eye (which can do without daylight). Oedipus' career—from eyesight to insight—falls into line with the common topos of the blind poet and the blind seer. As the figure of Tiresias demonstrates, empirical darkness symbolizes true, transcendent understanding.[14]

Similarly, Plato's members of the 'nocturnal council' (see above) are not mere 'guardians' (φύλακες) of the laws, but rather they represent—and (unlike other members of the state) are able to explain and defend—the 'idea' (ἰδέα, *Lg.* 965c2) of the 'virtue/excellence' (ἀρετή) that is behind these laws. By exceeding the deficient qualities of their co-citizens and by transcending the deficient world of the visible, they are situated beyond the 'normal' sphere of the day, beyond the ordinary daytime world—beyond ordinary ways of thinking. Descartes' distrust of sensory perception comes to mind,[15] as does the discussion, in rhetorical theory, of the superiority of *phantasia* and mental imagination.[16] Finally, we may think of Hegel who, in his *Jena Lectures on the Philosophy of Spirit* (*Jenaer Systementwürfe* III [1805/06]), conceives nocturnal darkness as a space which potentially includes all manifestations of the mind[17]—and, as

13 S. *OT* 1478–1514.

14 S. *OT* 412–413, where Tireisias points out the difference between Oedipus' physical (eye-) and his own mental (in)sight: λέγω δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυφλόν μ' ὠνείδισας· / σὺ καὶ δέδορκας κοὐ βλέπεις ἵν' εἶ κακοῦ, ('I tell you, since you have taunted my blindness, that though you have sight, you do not see what a state of misery you are in,' trans. Jebb).

15 *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (1641); see the edition in Descartes 1974 (e.g., *Meditationes* 6, 7 = p. 76, lines 21–22: *multa paulatim experimenta fidem omnem quam sensibus habueram labefactarunt*) and, e.g., Patterson 2016. Yet, Descartes is skeptical towards the truth we experience while dreaming (1964, p. 77, lines 8–14) and makes a clear difference between *imaginatio* and *intellectio* (*Meditationes* 6, 2: *primo examino differentiam quae est inter imaginationem & puram intellectionem* [1964, p. 72, lines 4–5]).

16 See, e.g., Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.26, 8.3.62, and 9.2.40 (*illa vero, ut ait Cicero* [Cic. *de Orat.* 3.53.303; *Orat.* 139] *sub oculos subiectio tum fieri solet*). On *phantasia* and imagination see, e.g., Männlein-Robert 2003, Webb 2009. A literary example of the superiority of mental imagination is Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.

17 Bronfen 2013, ch. 3: "Hegel maintains the idea that the existence of an amorphous dark-

such, yields a sphere from which the human mind departs, to which it should return and which can function as a liminal space.[18] This line of thinking is further elaborated in Hegel's famous dismissal of 'sense certainty' (*sinnliche Gewissheit*) in the early pages of the *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807).[19]

Looked at in this way, night, when it is not considered merely as a period of time, represents the spheres that are beyond (the limitations of) quotidian life: the brightness of the mind; knowledge that is not yet concrete (i.e., not yet 'articulated'); activities that cannot be done during the day. Or: inspiration and creativity! It is not for nothing that authors are suspected of working at night. An especially good example is Petronius, who, according to Tacitus, is said to have exchanged night and day (he slept during the day, and worked during the night),[20] but this topos can be found in different variations and contexts throughout the centuries until today. Albrecht Dürer's *Melencholia I* (1514) represents a dark and gloomy disposition as the basic characteristic of genius.[21]

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ness is the prerequisite for all subjectivity to take shape, a darkness which contains all possible externalized figurations and manifestations within itself [...] 'The human being is this night, this empty nothing which contains everything in its simplicity—a wealth of infinitely many representations, images, none of which occur to it directly, and none of which are present. This is the night, the interior of human nature, existing here—pure *self*.'" See Hegel 1968, 172 (Philosophie des Geistes. I. Der Geist nach seinem Begriffe. a. Intelligenz): "Der Mensch ist diese Nacht, dies leere Nichts, das alles in ihrer Einfachheit enthält—ein Reichtum unendlich vieler Vorstellungen, Bilder, deren keines ihm gerade einfällt—, oder die nicht als gegenwärtige sind. Dies die Nacht, das Innere der Natur, das hier existiert—reines Selbst [...]"; and Bronfen 2013, ch. 3, 52: "[Hegel] repeatedly conceives of the night as containing the potential fulfillment of the mental spirit. Indeed, it is in the night that the moment announces itself, in which the subject will know itself in its self-differentiated absoluteness. Hegel's night thus reiterates the primordial chaos of cosmogenetic narratives in that, in his thinking, nocturnal darkness emerges as a conceptual figure that always already includes as potentiality all manifestations of the mind/spirit, which, as its internal momentum, incessantly seek articulation and manifestation."

18 See Bronfen 2013, ch. 3: "The encounter with the nocturnal side of the mind/spirit also opens a way for a return into a new day, distinguished by a higher, more sophisticated level of consciousness."

19 In Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (*Phänomenologie des Geistes*), the philosopher looks outside and writes down a 'truthful' utterance: "Now is night" (Das Jetzt ist die Nacht)—a statement that is necessarily false when read in the morning. Yet this falsehood subsequently allows philosophy to understand the truth of generality: "Now is still now" (Das Jetzt ist noch das Jetzt)—"The now that *is*, is another Now than the one pointed to" (Das Jetzt, das ist, ist ein anderes als das gezeigte); see Hegel 1979, 82–93 (trans. Miller 1977, 60–63).

20 Tac. *Ann.* 16.18.1–2: *illi* [*sc. Petronio*] *dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur.*

21 On the relation between melancholia and poetic production see Panofsky and Saxl 1923,

In the Romantic period we find the idea of the artist who feels attracted by the turbulent, chaotic spheres of the night and, being unable to get rid of the spirits conjured, ends up in mental derangement (think of the German 'Um-Nachtung,' which is essentially associated with the mental state of [former] genius). And in the nineteenth century, Friedrich Nietzsche (who at the end of his life would become a powerful example for this kind of 'Umnachtung') states in *Die Dionysische Weltanschauung* (1870),[22] as well as in *Die Geburt des tragischen Gedankens* (a groundwork for *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, 1872), that artistic production is driven by Apollo *and* Dionysus, Light *and* Darkness, Dream *and* Frenzy: "In two states in particular man attains the blissful feeling of existence, in dream and in intoxication" (*In zwei Zuständen nämlich erreicht der Mensch das Wonnegefühl des Daseins, im Traum und im Rausch*).[23] Yet, some years later, in his *Morgenröthe* (1881; book 4, no. 250), he will slightly revise this dual concept and concede that artworks are children of the night. The night changes our sensory experience, especially the auditory senses. Music, which addresses and requires our ears, is the art of the night:[24]

> *Night and music.*—The ear, the organ of fear, could have evolved as greatly as it has only in the night and twilight of obscure caves and woods, in accordance with the mode of life of the age of timidity, that is to say the longest human age there has ever been: in bright daylight the ear is less necessary. That is how music acquired the character of an art of night and twilight.
>
> *Nacht und Musik.*—Das Ohr, das Organ der Furcht, hat sich nur in der Nacht und in der Halbnacht dunkler Wälder und Höhlen so reich entwickeln können, wie es sich entwickelt hat, gemäß der Lebensweise des furchtsamen, das heißt des allerlängsten menschlichen Zeitalters, welches es gegeben hat: im Hellen ist das Ohr weniger nöthig. Daher der Charakter der Musik, als einer Kunst der Nacht und Halbnacht.

Of course, the night changes our senses. Unable to see well, our *auditory* (and *tactile*) abilities are—or, for reasons of security, *must be*—intensified.[25]

32–48 (on Ficino) and 49–54 (on Dürer); Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl 1979, esp. ch. 3. A good survey on the (diverse) interpretations is given by Böhme 1993 and Hoffmann 2014.

22 See Nietzsche 1973a (= KG III, 2) 45.

23 Nietzsche 1973b (= KG III, 2), 73; trans. J. Hamilton per litt.

24 Nietzsche 1971 (= KG V, 1), 207; trans. Hollingdale 1997, 143.

25 Nietzsche is not the first one to make this point. As Sarah Olsen (unpublished) has shown,

During the Enlightment, the Night is associated not only with poetic creativity,[26] but also with moral transgression. We may think of Pierre-Ambroise-François Choderlos de Laclos' epistolary novel *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782) or Marquis de Sade's *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* (1785) and *Les Infortunes de la vertu* (1787, an early version of *Justine*). Both authors (implicitly) reflect on the collision between nocturnal aristocratic excess and honest civic sensitivity—an idea that is maintained and further elaborated in the motif of the aristocratic vampire, best known from John William Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819) and Bram Stoker's Gothic novel on the Transylvanian Count Dracula, who can't stand daylight and performs his cruelties by night (*Dracula*, 1897).

The idea, however, that we are creative or excessive during the night, while doing proper things and working hard during the day (especially the morning), is *not least* a social construction that only partly corresponds with physical conditions (many schoolboys and schoolgirls will probably agree). Consider the semanticization of wine and water in the poetological potology of Greek and Roman lyric and elegy, especially in Callimachus and Horace: *water*, the symbol of the Hellenistic hardworking poet-philologists,[27] versus *wine*, which opens the poet's mind to divine inspiration.[28] Analogously, day and night are culturally defined. Night and wine are considered to enable one to transcend limits and limitations, to look behind and beyond the openly visible world, or even to

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the specific, non-visual (tactile, kinesthetic, and auditive) sensory experiences and the "heightened sensory awareness" assigned to nocturnal activities, such as the Greek παννυχίς ('night festival, private nocturnal cult activity, vigil'; see Bravo 1997), are explored already in antiquity, e.g in E. *Heracl.* 781–783 or Men. *Epit.* 450–555 and 853–877. On Sappho's reflections on παννυχίζειν as a heightened erotic and aesthetic experience see Schlesier 2018, 114–116.

26 See, e.g., Edward Young's 'Night Thoughts.' The long poem (around 10,000 verses), published between 1742 and 1745 in separate quarto pamphlets, one Night in each (starting with *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death & Immortality. Night the First*. London, 1742) and, again, with 43 engravings by William Blake, in 1797, contains nine nocturnal poetic meditations. They became extremely popular at the end of the eighteenth century—one example of 'Young-mania' being Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's Ode 'An Young' (Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock: *Oden*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1798, pp. 115–117)—and were admired by authors such as Alexander Pope, Samuel Richardson, and Samuel Johnson, and subsequently translated into nearly all European languages.

27 On the metaphor of water cf. Call. *Ap*. 105–112. On the wine-water debate see Kambylis 1965, esp. 118–122; Knox 1985.

28 On wine as a poetological metaphor (e.g., in Greek Aeolic poetry and Horace) see the literature quoted in the previous note. One of the strongest employments of the wine metaphor is Hor. *Carm*. 1.37 (*nunc est bibendum* …), which can be read as a potological poem.

transgress the boundaries between civic and non-civic standards, expectations, or areas of thinking and acting.

No wonder that—except for their (quite different) moral attitude and the (quite different) quality of their results—the poet shares with *the criminal* a deep disdain of daylight.[29] Neither wants to be seen—let alone controlled—by society.[30] The criminal withdraws from moral values, just as the poet eschews politically common language: both abide by their own rules and neither obeys societal standards or norms. *Obscuritas* in poetry, except when employed as a "mask for mediocrity,"[31] is not considered a deficiency, but rather—to use Horace's famous *odi profanum vulgus et arceo* (*Carm.* 3.1.1)—as a technique to 'hide from the crowd' and to meet the complexity of true knowledge and philosophical or religious insight that is beyond profane and familiar daytime thought.[32]

Something similar goes for true love that is (or goes) beyond social expectations and conventions. As noted above, in the Orphic tradition, Eros is born of the night. Think of Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus, or the tradition of the 'Alba' (sunrise) songs by the Provençal troubadours, where lovers bemoan the arrival of dawn or a friend alerts them when the hour has come to part. The day (or the Lady's husband, or the family's political involvement) has no feeling for true love or for love's deep truth. Tristan and Isolde, Romeo and Juliet—they all fall right in line with this topos.

A motif that combines these nocturnalized roles—poet, criminal, lover—is the ancient motif of the *paraklausithyron*. The *exclusus amator* (the poet or his *alter ego*) waits in front of his *puella*'s door, pleading with the *puella*—or with her door—for access to her house. Sitting on the threshold, which symbolizes the transition between the (visible) socio-political sphere and the (non-visible and hard-to-access) private-poetical sphere, the *exclusus amator* displays the situation of the poet as well as the lover's and the criminal's (for the *exclusus amator* is considered an adulterer). They all aim at transgressing boundaries and leaving behind the requirements and expectations of

29 See two of the founding texts of Romanticism: *Nachtwachen von Bonaventura* (1804) and *Novalis: Hymnen an die Nacht* (1799–1800). Significantly, both authors published pseudonymously. The satirical novel *Nachtwachen* (1804), which could be ascribed to August Klingemann (1777–1831) in 1987 (Klingemann 2012), reports the adventures of a nightwatchman; Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg (1772–1801), who published under the name Novalis, understands the night as the key to understanding the truth: see, e.g., Davis 1994.

30 Cf. the Latin word *lucifugae* (Ker 2004, 219–221).

31 Hamilton 2003, 214–216.

32 See Sluiter 2016.

the political sphere—and civilization. As a consequence, the *exclusus amator* acts during the night. It is no coincidence that the motif of the nocturnal *paraklausithyron*, as it is articulated in Roman elegy,[33] was foreshadowed long before in the philosophical context of Parmenides' proem, which we have already mentioned. There, the author, Parmenides, is brought to the House of Night. However, the wings of the door are guarded by Dikê, the goddess of Right and Justice, who would only be persuaded to open them after Parmenides' companions succeed in flattering her with gentle words.[34] It is not easy to leave the ordinary world and gain access to the inaccessible world of truth.[35]

2 The Shaping of This Book

Our volume originated in a conference held on June 14–16, 2018 at the University of Pennsylvania, where speakers presented their case-studies from ancient Greek and/or Roman contexts in which night or the nocturnal were central to the construction of cultural value—the latest inquiry in the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values. The papers not only spanned the chronological range of antiquity but also addressed a variety of social spheres, including myth, literature, history, religion, science, philosophy, and visual culture. During the conference, certain areas of inquiry turned out to be of special interest, including: work, perception, knowledge, experience, and creativity. Those three wonderful days of fruitful discussion, followed by several months of further elaboration and revision, have resulted in a volume that addresses the broader thematic framework through case studies focused on a single text or context.

33 E.g., Tib. 1.2; Prop. 1.16; Hor. *Carm.* 1.25, 3.10; Ov. *Am.* 1.6. For the word, see Plu. *Amatorius* 8 (*Mor.* 753b). For the use of the motif in earlier literature, see, e.g., Ar. *V.* 1–53, *Ec.* 952–975; Pl. *Cur.* 143–156; Catul. 67 (and 63.65–67); with Burck 1966, Copley 1959, Yardley 1978.

34 Parmenides DK 28, B1, 11–15: τὴν [sc. Δίκην] δὴ παρφάμεναι κοῦραι μαλακοῖσι λόγοισιν.

35 The classic example of this motif in German literature is Schiller's ballad 'The Veiled Image at Sais' ('Das verschleierte Bild zu Saïs,' 1795): the Egyptian Image at Sais, which is said to bear the truth and not allowed to be unveiled by any human, is unveiled by a young Greek man. Driven by curiosity, he approaches the image during the night; after unveiling it, however, he turns pale ("besinnungslos und bleich") and is unable to talk about his experience ("Was er allda gesehen und erfahren / Hat seine Zunge nie bekannt"; Schiller 1992, 256). According to Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 9 (354C), the image (ἕδος) was a (sitting) statue of Athena-Isis, which bore the inscription 'I am all that has been, and is, and shall be, and my robe (πέπλος) no mortal has yet unveiled' (τὸ δ' ἐν Σάι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν καὶ Ἶσιν νομίζουσιν, ἕδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαύτην 'ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν'). See Assmann (1999), ch. 4 on the ancient background and the dichotomous relationship between Greek curiosity and Egyptian mysteries.

No edited volume will ever succeed in touching upon, let alone delve deeply into, all the relevant aspects and problems of the topic in question. Yet we offer here, we think, a representative overview of the fields in which night and its ancient values have been explored. Along with other scholars who have worked on the topic, especially the contributors to the superb Fondation Hardt volume *La nuit: Imaginaire et réalités nocturnes dans le monde gréco-romain* (2018), edited by Angelos Chaniotis, we hope to inspire—and to provoke—further exploration and discussion.

Four categories of ancient discourse turned out to be particularly crucial: (1) conceptualizations of Night as a (mythological) figure; (2) values of night as a semantic space with respect to (a) the production of knowledge and (b) other social activities and identities; and (3) specific modes of nocturnal perception. Accordingly, we have divided the volume into four parts, with chapters arranged chronologically in each. We invite our readers to begin by exploring theoretical approaches and definitions of the night (Part 1), to continue on a tour through different aspects of their practical or literary employment (Parts 2–3), and to finish by reflecting on how night was perceived in such areas as religion, literature, and visual culture (Part 4).

Part 1, 'Who or What Is the Night?,' comprises two studies of night's imagined origin and how this relates to the origin of the cosmos. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, as noted above, Night is the mother of a diverse brood of (mostly formidable) forces. But why did Hesiod choose specifically these personifications to begin with? In 'Night as Measure, Mother, and Metaphor in the Hesiodic Cosmos' (Ch. 1), Adrienne Atkins demonstrates that these forces are mostly connected to Night metaphorically, and that Hesiod's metaphorical system can be better understood by considering it alongside his *Works and Days*. In the latter, nighttime is presented literally as a lived experience, and this, in turn, helps us toward a more precise articulation of issues in the *Theogony*, such as (the limitations of) human knowledge and gender. Hesiod also already touches upon the philosophical and societal contexts that will be crucial in Parts 2 and 3. Hesiod's approach, however, was not the only one available, as Radcliffe Edmonds III shows in 'First-Born of Night or Oozing from the Slime? Deviant Origins in Orphic Cosmogonies' (Ch. 2). The choice to put Night, Water, or Time as the first principle of the cosmogony raises different and enduringly valid questions: What makes up the cosmos? When or how does it come into being? In the process of answering these questions, a cosmogonist puts forth a different idea of the nature of cosmos. Atkins' and Edmonds' chapters foreshadow two major strands within the ancient discussions of night. While Hesiod's approach starts from philosophical and societal thoughts and issues in order to develop a theological system, Orphic doctrine aims at embedding human

conditions into a cosmological framework. And while Orphic cosmogony is primarily concerned with the features of nature, Hesiod provides a first step for exploring the night as a *semantic* space.

Part 2, 'Nocturnal Knowledge: Medicine, Philosophy, Religion, Astronomy,' brings the semantic space of night into the foreground by attending to the relation between night and knowledge (or rather, specific *fields* of knowledge, such as medicine, religion, philosophy, and astronomy). Ralph Rosen's study, 'Night as Diagnostic Marker in Hippocratic Medicine' (Ch. 3), focuses on the fact that across many Hippocratic treatises we find authors isolating night as a time when specific symptoms of an illness, or critical moments in its progress, occur. The vast majority of these nocturnal junctures turn out to have sinister associations, and distinct clinical patterns emerge, which became part of the Hippocratic toolkit for categorizing diseases and prognosticating their outcomes. But in philosophy, too, the night—at first sight considered to darken knowledge—was valued as a time that provides us with knowledge that remains inaccessible during the daytime hours. Albert Joosse, in 'Nights of Insight: Plato on the Philosophical Qualities of the Night' (Ch. 4), argues that Plato, while using the night as a metaphor for ignorance, also presents it in a much more positive way. The night provides structure to the cosmos and to the dialogues that investigate it. And it gives us access to truth in ethical judgement and divination.

The next two chapters take us into the Roman world: Cynthia Damon's 'Night's Fictions: The Religious Institutions of Numa in Lucilius fr. 484–489 (Marx)' (Ch. 5) and Kathryn Wilson's 'The Astronomer-Poet at Night: The Evolution of a Motif' (Ch. 6). Both chapters demonstrate that in Rome as in Greece, the night and its values are still considered ambivalent. Thus, Damon examines nocturnal elements in the stories told about Rome's second king, with particular attention to a fragment in which the satirist Lucilius makes Numa an inventor of the ghosts who haunt the nights of his superstitious contemporaries. Her chapter suggests that the satirist's mockery acquired resonance from a lively second-century controversy involving Numa and the politics of deception, and that by cloaking Numa in nocturnal shades, the speaker in the fragment adopts the stance, or perhaps the pose, of the enlightened. While Damon's chapter revolves around the relation between politics and poetry, Wilson traces how the use of the night as a metaphor of poetic production has been shaped and transformed over the course of centuries between the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Focusing on poets who are working not only *at* night, but also *on* the night—that is, poets who deal with astronomical issues, such as Aratus and Manilius—, she shows how the considerations that each poet suggests are appropriate to night (e.g., whether one stays inside to compose or goes outside to observe the stars) provide insight into their prior-

ities. Against the backdrop, however, of a topos concerned with the relation between (poetic) production/insight and nocturnal work/observation, Manilius, the Roman astronomer-poet, adopted an entirely different view: in his account, night causes difficulties in astronomical observation, representing obscurity and a lack of knowledge. In Roman Imperial literature, then, the idea of the night as a metaphor for introspection, and for access to deeper truth, begins to show cracks.

Part 3, 'Society and Gender: Men and Women at Work, by Night,' is concerned with another aspect of night's semantic space. Each chapter examines nocturnal values in one or more specific social spheres (e.g., male/female, low/high status), as these are manifested across the spectrum of ancient writing, from drama (Aeschylus, Euripides) to epic and bucolic literature (Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, Theocritus) to rhetoric (Cicero) to epigraphic documents—a spectrum that includes varying degrees of fictionality. In 'A Night Attack in the *Seven Against Thebes*' (Ch. 7), Isabella Reinhardt highlights several passages in Aeschylus' play that suggest the events may be unfolding at night. Instead of interpreting the references to night as firm markers of chronological setting, however, Reinhardt suggests that we understand them as thematic tools which deepen the complexity of a scene and tie the actions of the play both to the Labdacid trilogy and to the Trojan cycle. Two specific levels of interpretation emerge, one concerned with Eteocles' inability to predict Polynices' participation in the attack, the other with setting Polynices' attack and the sack of Troy in parallel, thereby inviting comparison between the two. Athenian tragedy remains the focus in Marie-Charlotte von Lehsten's 'Tragedy of Darkness: The Role of Night in Euripides' *Rhesus*' (Ch. 8), which examines the only surviving tragedy with an explicitly nocturnal plot and investigates night's role. In the *Rhesus*, it turns out, night is primarily addressed within the thematic fields of transgression (that is, ambush and flight), agitation, and disorder, and the characters' misguided attempts to take into account the dangers and challenges of the nighttime contribute to the play's tragic quality. In both these case-studies from tragedy, where the overall setting is a war, and the agents of the nocturnal activities are men, the night marks a loss, or even an intentional betrayal, of social and moral standards. In the *Seven*, however, two further aspects are at work: the quality of sensory experiences and its connection to gender.[36] For since it is not possible to see (physically) during the night, any auditory signals are experienced all the more intensely, while in the description (and experience) of the chorus (i.e., the Theban women), the inability to see does not

36 For aspects of nocturnal experiences, see also our brief remarks on Nietzsche above.

lead to deeper insight (as it often does for men), but, instead, it enhances the women's fear in conjunction with their heightened sensory experience.

This highlights the topic of perception (see below on Part 4), but it also poses the question whether we can find any gender-specific differences in ancient representations relating to the evaluation and the employment of nocturnal features, such as darkness. Amelia Bensch-Schaus, in 'The Witching Hour: Troubled Women in Homer, Apollonius, and Theocritus' (Ch. 9), shows that things are less schematic. Women (in literature) also employ the darkness of night to transgress boundaries; here, women and their work, hidden from male supervision, can take on sinister connotations. Bensch-Schaus presents three instances in Greek poetry that pair elite and non-elite women toiling and suffering through the night and subject to grief. Yet the ominous undertones in the texts explored reveal an anxiety that women might harness the hardships they experience in ways that endanger the men around them. Night here at once intensifies a woman's emotions and her experience of transgressions (e.g., in the case of Medea) and yet permits her to change the situation and (from her perspective) to remedy it. One is readily reminded of Mozart's and Schikaneder's *The Magic Flute* (*Zauberflöte*) and the Queen of the Night ('Königin der Nacht'), whose presumed transition from grieving mother to evil sorceress at the same time reveals an inherent ambivalence.[37] A similarly ambiguous night, however, may arise in male contexts, too, where it can serve both as a space for transgression and as a potential source of remedy. Christoph Pieper argues, in '*Nox rei publicae*? Catiline's and Cicero's Nocturnal Activities in the *Catilinarians*' (Ch. 10), that Cicero's many references to night are not exclusively concerned with a black-and-white contrast associating Catiline with the night and his own counter-actions with light. The metaphorical use of 'night' is more complex and also serves to underpin the fact that, during the night, both groups, the enemies and the saviors of the State, are awake and active. Night, at the same time, sharpens the distinction between good and bad, between behavior that is salutary for the State and behavior that is pernicious. Night in the *Catilinarians* is a time for showing one's true colors.

But does something similiar apply to the (presumed) differences between night and day? Do spaces that promise to protect us from being exposed to invisible dangers, such as the natural day (and sunlight), or artificial spaces, such as houses and hostels, really provide a safe place? Jane Sancinito's chapter 'Inn-Dependent: Spending the Night in a Hostel in the Roman World' (Ch. 11), demonstrates that this is not the case. The spheres of day and night are ambig-

37 Cf. Assmann 2005.

uous—not only with respect to the moral values assigned to them, but also with respect to safety and danger. Starting from Cicero's *Pro Milone*, Sancinito argues that, throughout Roman literature, inns appear as places of dubious safety. While an inn ostensibly promised travelers protection from the dangers of the night, the trope of the inn as a site of either miracles or horrors is due to the liminality of the inn, as a place that is neither origin nor destination, combined with its specific nocturnal relevance—as a business that depended on the night and could expose the traveler to all the good and bad that emerge during this time. Moreover, since the inn's promise of safety is based on the danger from which we are to be protected, it will expose us all the more to other people's decisions and capriciousness. As a consequence, even the experiences of night and light are not strictly related to fear and safety.

This leads us to the theme of Part 4, 'Experiencing by Night.' If the night poses danger, provokes fear, and so forth, yet also permits a person to see even more than is seen during the day, along with other potential benefits, to what extent are these (time-specific) experiences controlled by mere expectations—by societal values, literary topoi, etc.? Already in Part 2 we saw evidence that the sphere of night is closely related to some positive values, such as the acquisition of knowledge—astronomical, medical, philosophical. Now, however, we turn to consider how the experience of night can involve transgression as well as innovation, fear and danger as well as remedy. But what *kinds* of experience does the night make possible, and how can these be described? Whereas questions about night's origins and identity were first debated in Greek contexts (cf. Part 1), our chapters on nocturnal experience all happen to concern Roman case-studies. In the first of these, 'Better Safe than Sorry: Nocturnal Divinatory Signs from a First-Century BCE Roman Perspective' (Ch. 12), Kim Beerden points out that, at first sight, it may appear that divinatory signs usually occurred during the day, but in fact nocturnal signs are incorporated in the texts she considers. She analyzes the so-called Historical Republican divinatory signs and shows that they are sometimes evaluated ambiguously but not as especially negative, frightening, or illegitimate. Instead, night appears as a canvas to be read and experienced: a more advanced notion of nocturnalization is visible than has sometimes been assumed. And yet if darkness means there is nothing to be seen, how is it possible to make these experiences accessible in literary writings and to employ *enargeia* or even to provide an ecphrasis—modes of description that do not work without offering a wide spectrum of details? The issue is foregrounded in Selina Weissmantel's chapter, 'Through the Eyes of the Night: Ecphrasis of Nocturnal Ambush Scenes in Roman Epic and Historiography' (Ch. 13). As Weissmantel argues, vivid depiction of night seems to be paradoxical at first. But her study presents a comparative reading

of two versions of the Gauls' nocturnal ambush on the Roman Capitol written by Virgil and Livy, who provide us with an opportunity to observe how they were engaging in a conscious intertextual dialogue and negotiating the possibilities of *enargeia* and ecphrasis in night scenes.

Literature, however, is not the only mode of producing experiences of the night. A second and certainly intriguing mode is provided in visual culture itself, including in the experience of wall-paintings explored by Barbara Kellum in 'Nocturnal Negotiations: Experiencing the Night Scenes from the *Iliad* at the House of Octavius Quartio, Pompeii II 2.2' (Ch. 14). Here, not only is the scene itself, i.e., the theme depicted, situated at night but so, too, is the moment when the painting's recipient is viewing it. A rarity in Roman painting, the pairing of two night scenes from the *Iliad*—the delegation of Phoenix to Achilles and Priam's ransom of the body of Hector—in a triclinium of the House of Octavius Quartio plays a pivotal role in uniting the room's Trojan War and Hercules friezes in their meditations on events which happen, respectively, in the heat of the day and in the dead of the night. Experienced at night by flickering lamplight, these miniature scenes from the *Iliad* must have prompted conversations on everything from civil wars of the past to deals struck against all odds by former business rivals during the course of that very evening.

And what happens when a *poet* is reflecting on the night during the night? We conclude with a return to literature that in fact elaborates one of the aspects Kellum has dealt with: the nocturnal experience of a nocturnal object, albeit now with respect to poetry and the question: what happens next, after sunrise? In 'Persius' Nocturnal Inspiration in the Light of Day' (Ch. 15), Jennifer Ferriss-Hill explores the opening of Persius' third satire and argues that it depicts the aftermath of the poet's failed nighttime attempt at literary inspiration by wine-drinking, and that the poem as a whole describes all but the nighttime portion of a repeating 24-hour cycle. Far from being an unflattering portrait of the student-poet for its own sake, the poem engages with satire's anxiety regarding its literary status and should be seen as standing alongside other programmatic moments in the book.

While Parts 1–3 show how the night is more than a period of time, and that it first of all must be considered either as a metaphor or as a semantic space, the chapters of Part 4 seem to show that literary culture and visual culture both reflect on experiences that have been allotted to them and that certain relations and values, such as night and (the experience of) inspiration, are now considered to be a cliche that cannot go unquestioned.

Let us conclude by shedding light on, and expressing our thanks to, all those who have accompanied and supported us, both during the conference and when preparing this volume. Our first and deepest thanks go to Ineke Sluiter

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Secondly, but no less, we deeply thank those students and colleagues who helped us to make the conference a great success. In Philadelphia, we were greatly supported by (in addition to those who presented and who appear in this volume): Maggie Danaher, Catherine McNally, Ryan Pilipow, Breyasia Scott, and Hannah Walsh, who helped with logistics; Joseph Farrell and Ann de Forest, who opened their home for a feast honoring the participants; and Stephanie Palmer, who was a generous and effective organizer. In Leiden, Caroline van den Oever designed the flyers and posters, and Kim Beerden and her students, Elias Eells, Patricia Kret, Caroline van den Oever, and Marloes Velthuisen, reported on their projects from a seminar on Night, in a video-presentation that was shown on the first evening of our conference.

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PART 1

Who or What Is the Night?

CHAPTER 1

Night as Measure, Mother, and Metaphor in the Hesiodic Cosmos

Adrienne Atkins

1 Introduction

After identifying the Muses as the first subjects of the *Theogony,* Hesiod initially depicts them as engaged in the activities of nymphs: they occupy a mountain, bathe in springs, and dance (*Th.* 2–8). It is not until the tenth line that he portrays them as singers, and he marks this transition to their primary sphere of influence with an otherworldly change of scenery (*Th.* 9–11):[1]

> Descending from here, shrouded in a great mist
> they walked by night, letting loose their dazzling voice,
> singing of Zeus the Aegis-bearer and lady Hera …

> ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι πολλῷ,
> ἐννύχιαι στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἱεῖσαι,
> ὑμνεῦσαι Δία τ᾽ αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην …

In these lines, Hesiod plunges Mt. Helicon and its springs and altars and dances into darkness, erasing the scene he painted in lines 1–8. Now when the Muses unleash their voice, it is into a featureless world, a void ready to be filled with new objects and actors. Hesiod highlights the vastness of the Muses' knowledge by structuring their song as a catalogue spanning eleven verb-less lines (*Th.* 11–21). His arrangement, too, is emphatic, starting from the gods who are most powerful and aloof (Zeus and other Olympians) and ending with deities that represent phenomena observable to mortals (Eos, Helios, Selene, Gaia, Oceanus). The final named deity is Night herself (Day does not appear), the representation of the very temporal state that the Muses currently occupy. Her inclusion in the catalogue initiates the transformation of a temporal con-

1 Text of the *Theogony* from West 1966. Text of the *Works and Days* from West 1978. All translations my own.

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dition into a being, marked as divine and agentive. In this way, the role of night/Night in the proem prompts us to consider the relationship between nighttime as a feature of the mortal world and Night as an actor in Hesiod's cosmogony.

The purpose of this essay is to examine the relationship between night and Night in Hesiodic thought by articulating the network of metaphors that yoke nighttime to its divine personification. I will first survey Hesiod's references to nighttime in the *Works and Days* in order to identify a set of qualities that define it in the mortal experience. I will then return to the *Theogony* to examine how this conception of nighttime informs Hesiod's characterization of Night as a goddess, daughter, and mother; a close reading of the catalogue of Night's children (*Th.* 211–225) will serve as the centerpiece of this section, since this passage situates night at the center of a complex metaphorical system. Although the *Theogony* offers a divine perspective on the cosmos, its poet is still human, as are the cultures out of which its mythology developed. The stories it relates and the logic it exhibits are the products of a human and mortal understanding of the world, and this is precisely why it is valuable to trace its metaphors back to the embodied experiences in which they are grounded. This is an especially fruitful approach to night/Night because—as the *Theogony*'s proem suggests and as evidence from the *Works and Days* will demonstrate—nighttime constitutes a liminal zone between the divine and the mortal. A complementary pattern will emerge in the *Theogony*, which situates among Night's children a number of divine personifications that are of particular relevance to mortal life (e.g., Death, Old Age). Although there are many metaphorical associations at play in the catalogue of Night's children, my discussion will focus on the role of night/Night as a metaphor for the limitations of human knowledge, informed by the portrayal of nighttime in the *Works and Days*. By way of conclusion, I will return to the *Theogony*'s proem and comment briefly on nighttime as a setting for song.

2 Nighttime in the *Works and Days*

Hesiod makes reference to nighttime in a number of contexts throughout the *Works and Days*, including the myths, the agricultural instructions, and the passages of assorted advice on other topics. The agricultural content of the poem, however, offers the best evidence of night as a literal time. While the *Works and Days* does reveal certain anxieties associated with the nighttime, these do not come to the fore in the agricultural passages; rather, the night helps the farmer to plan his work, at the levels of both the individual day and the agricultural

year. A basic function of nighttime for the farmer, then, is as a timekeeping device, a measure. Thus, Hesiod invokes night in the context of the sun cycle, as when he advises Perses to set out harvested grapes in the sun for ten days and nights in order to prepare them for wine-making (*Op.* 612–614), and when he explains the movement of the Pleiades in terms of the number of days and nights they lie hidden before rising again (385–387). In this latter passage, Hesiod takes the appearance of the Pleiades in the sky as the sign to harvest, and their disappearance as the sign to plow (383–384), demonstrating that the status of the night sky can mark individual events as well as measure durations of time. Similarly, Hesiod identifies the autumn as the time during which Sirius is in the sky longer during the night than during the day. Although Hesiod names night itself in this timekeeping capacity only in the passages I have recounted here, he uses the stars as temporal markers constantly, in far too many passages to survey. For work to be successful, it must be properly timed (ὡραῖος, 32), and it is the stars that facilitate this, providing a heavenly point of reference, a means by which human life can be anchored to the divine framework of the cosmos. Despite its literal obscurity, the night provides a cosmic clarity.

In addition to providing access to the stars, the nighttime benefits humans by making it easier to ration food during the winter months (*Op.* 559–563):

> At this time let the oxen have half their usual ration, and let a man have
> more than half his usual ration; for the long nights are a help.
> Keep track of these things until the end of the year
> and balance the nights and days, until once again
> the Earth, the mother of all things, brings forth her assorted fruit.
>
> τῆμος τὤμισυ βουσ', ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρι τὸ πλέον εἴη
> ἁρμαλιῆς· μακραὶ γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσίν.
> ταῦτα φυλασσόμενος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
> ἰσοῦσθαι νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα, εἰς ὅ κεν αὖτις
> Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ καρπὸν σύμμικτον ἐνείκῃ.

One must eat less during the winter than during the rest of the year, but not cut one's own rations as dramatically as the livestock's.[2] Presumably, the long nights are helpful because they reduce one's waking hours, and thus make it easier to eat less. In this passage, Hesiod refers to night by its friendly epithet

2 West 1978, 298.

εὐφρόνῃ, the 'kindly time,' a word which appears in Hesiodic poetry only here.[3] After Hesiod, the word seems to refer to night in a variety of contexts, whether it is being described positively, negatively, or in value-neutral terms. Here, however, it is perhaps significant that Hesiod uses εὐφρόνη only in the one passage in which he is praising nighttime explicitly.[4]

Shortly after this passage, Hesiod alludes to another benefit of nighttime: the respite that it provides from the sun. He advises (*Op.* 575–581):

> Avoid shady seats and sleeping during dawn
> at harvest time, when the sun dries up your skin:
> at that time hurry and bring home the crops,
> getting up at daybreak so that your livelihood will be sufficient.
> For dawn portions out a third of the work,
> dawn lays before you your path, and it lays before you your work,
> dawn, which when it shines forth sets many men on their way
> and puts the yoke on many oxen.
>
> φεύγειν δὲ σκιεροὺς θώκους καὶ ἐπ' ἠῶ κοῖτον
> ὥρῃ ἐν ἀμήτου, ὅτε τ' ἠέλιος χρόα κάρφει·
> τημοῦτος σπεύδειν καὶ οἴκαδε καρπὸν ἀγινεῖν
> ὄρθρου ἀνιστάμενος, ἵνα τοι βίος ἄρκιος εἴη.
> ἠὼς γάρ τ' ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἶσαν·
> ἠώς τοι προφέρει μὲν ὁδοῦ, προφέρει δὲ καὶ ἔργου,
> ἠώς, ἥ τε φανεῖσα πολέας ἐπέβησε κελεύθου
> ἀνθρώπους, πολλοῖσι δ' ἐπὶ ζυγὰ βουσὶ τίθησιν.

It is unclear at what time exactly Hesiod intends for Perses to get up. Ἐπ' ἠῶ (574) can mean 'during dawn,' as I have translated it, but ἐπί with the accusative can also mean 'until.'[5] Likewise, ὄρθρου (577) can refer to daybreak or the time

3 Εὐφρόνη does not appear in Homeric epic; the next examples are Heraclitus (DK 26, 57, 67, 99), Pindar (*N.* 7.3), and Aeschylus (*Pers.* 180, 221; *Ag.* 265, 279, 337, 522; *Eu.* 692, *Pr.* 655). Line 560 also features the only instance of ἐπίρροθος in Hesiod. It appears twice in the *Iliad*, both times referring to Athena as a helper to a mortal (*Il.* 4.390 and 23.770). The next usage is in Aeschylus (*Th.* 368).

4 West 1966, 230 states that the term εὐφρόνη is a euphemism stemming from a fear of night; in other words, it is apotropaic. If this is the case, one would expect Hesiod to use the term in contexts in which nighttime is more frightening or ambivalent rather than when it is actively beneficial.

5 LSJ s.v. ἐπί, C II.

just before it, the morning twilight.[6] As a result, Hesiod may be instructing Perses to arise either at dawn or just before it. Regardless, the reasoning is that a farmer should avoid working when the sun is harsh on the skin; the liminal time between night and day, when there is light but not direct sunlight, is useful. In this way, a farmer can take advantage of the darker periods at the fringes of nighttime.

Thus, the *Works and Days* attributes a number of practical benefits to the nighttime. The night allows access to the stars, which convey information that is crucial for a farmer's success, and it provides respite from the difficulties of daily life, including hunger and the heat of the sun; surely this list should also include physical labor itself, although Hesiod does not explicitly say so here.[7] Furthermore, certain tasks that the farmer initiates during the day can progress at night while he sleeps, such as the drying of the grapes. However, underlying these benefits of nighttime is the assumption that human activity belongs to the daylight hours; night is beneficial to daily work, but it is not the time at which that work itself takes place.

In non-agricultural contexts, Hesiod characterizes night with greater ambivalence. The first such example in the *Works and Days* occurs during the introduction of the second Strife (*Op.* 11–20):

> So there was not just one kind of Strife after all, but there are two of them
> in the world. One a man would praise once he recognized it,
> but the other is blameworthy; they have completely opposite spirits.
> For the one propels evil war and conflict,
> untiring; no mortal loves that one, but it is by compulsion,
> through the plans of the gods, that they honor the grievous Strife.
> But the other one dark Night bore first
> and Cronus' high-throned son who lives in the aether placed it
> in the roots of the earth, and it is far better for men.
> This one incites even a helpless man to work.

> οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
> εἰσὶ δύω· τὴν μέν κεν ἐπαινήσειε νοήσας,

6 LSJ s.v. ὄρθρος.

7 The characterization of night as a time of respite also recalls the *Theogony*'s portrayal of Sleep as gentle and kind to humans (ἥσυχος ἀνστρέφεται καὶ μείλιχος ἀνθρώποισι, *Th.* 763).

ἡ δ' ἐπιμωμητή· διὰ δ' ἄνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆριν ὀφέλλει,
σχετλίη· οὔ τις τήν γε φιλεῖ βροτός, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
ἀθανάτων βουλῇσιν Ἔριν τιμῶσι βαρεῖαν.
τὴν δ' ἑτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγείνατο Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή,
θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος αἰθέρι ναίων
γαίης τ' ἐν ῥίζῃσι καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω·
ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν.

Conflict is not productive for the gods, but it sometimes is for mortals, and so on Earth there is a second Strife who is beneficial. Hesiod underscores the significance of this Strife to the mortal world in particular by claiming that Zeus placed it at the roots of the Earth. Yet despite the primacy of this good Strife, Night does not come across as wholly beneficial, since she begot the evil one as well.

Hesiod also depicts night ambivalently during the two myths that fall at the beginning of the *Works and Days*: the story of Prometheus and Pandora, and that of the five ages of humanity, both of which explain the origins of human suffering. Hesiod concludes the Prometheus and Pandora segment with the following lines (*Op*. 102–104):[8]

Some sicknesses roam among humans by day, and others by night,
of their own accord, bearing evils to mortals
in silence, since the counselor Zeus took away their voice.

νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ, αἳ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
αὐτόμαται φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.

Hesiod brings up night and day in a similar context in the myth of the ages when he arrives at the age of iron (*Op*. 176–179):

For now the race is iron; they will not cease from toil
and distress by day, nor at all at night,
oppressed as they are; and the gods will give them difficult troubles.
But nevertheless, even for these people good things will be mingled with evil ones.

8 On this passage, see also Rosen's chapter in this volume.

νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ’ ἦμαρ
παύσονται καμάτου καὶ ὀιζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
τειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.
ἀλλ’ ἔμπης καὶ τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν.

These passages both invoke night and day as a pair, and in this respect they recall the agricultural examples in which Hesiod used day and night to measure duration of time (the Pleiades lie hidden for forty days and nights, the grapes should be set out to dry for ten days and nights). But in the mythological examples there is no time frame specified. Hesiod instead uses the sun cycle to communicate infinite duration, in both cases to express the constancy and certainty of human suffering, which transcend the need to work. There are afflictions that come upon us silently and invisibly, and they do not rest when we do. Notably, Hesiod does not characterize nighttime as more or less fertile for suffering than daytime; he simply utilizes it to express the relentlessness and unpredictability of suffering in a manner that is concrete and comprehensible, rooted in the human experience of the natural world.

There is one final direct reference to nighttime in the *Works and Days*, and this falls within the assorted advice that follows the sailing instructions and precedes the catalogue of days. Here Hesiod explains when and how it is best to urinate. Despite its humble subject matter, the passage includes a valuable commentary on the night (*Op*. 727–732):[9]

Do not urinate standing up facing toward the sun;
instead, remember do it after it sets and before it rises,
and do not urinate while walking either on the road or off the road;

9 The logic of this passage has given editors reason to suspect corruption. The position of line 729, which admonishes urination on the road, suggests that it belongs in this discussion of nighttime urination. However, the implication that people commonly travel at night has struck some editors as odd. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1928 avoids this conundrum by eliminating lines 728 and 730 altogether. Solmsen 1970 retains all the lines but reverses the order of 729 and 730. West 1978 preserves the text as the manuscripts present it. In my view, there is no need to doubt the authenticity of any of the lines. Each piece of advice they relate pertains to the topic of overexposure during urination, and in this sense the passage is coherent. The admonitions are also discrete enough that none can be clearly identified as later exegesis, and the reference to nighttime travel does not pose enough of a problem to justify any excision. It does seem possible that one or more lines are displaced, and such a corruption could be traced back to the homoearchon of 727, 729, and 730. My argument centers around 730 and would not be affected by a rearrangement of the lines. For further discussion of the textual issues in this passage, see West 1978, esp. 335 on line 728.

do not completely expose yourself; for the nights belong to the blessed ones.
It is while squatting that the god-fearing man, who knows wisdom, does it,
or after he has gone to the wall of a well-enclosed courtyard.

μηδ’ ἄντ’ ἠελίου τετραμμένος ὀρθὸς ὀμείχειν·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί κε δύῃ, μεμνημένος, ἔς τ’ ἀνιόντα,
μήτ’ ἐν ὁδῷ μήτ’ ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ προβάδην οὐρήσεις·
μηδ’ ἀπογυμνωθείς· μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν·
ἑζόμενος δ’ ὅ γε θεῖος ἀνήρ, πεπνυμένα εἰδώς,
ἤ’ ὅ γε πρὸς τοῖχον πελάσας εὐερκέος αὐλῆς.

The phrase μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν (730) is of particular relevance. The general idea of this line, that the night is not a human domain, recalls a point that emerged from the agricultural passages surveyed above: that night provides respite from the toils of the past day and allows one to plan for the toils of the next, but is not a time of human activity proper. However, it is worth investigating who these μάκαρες are and why one must avoid them.

In the pieces of advice that surround the urination instructions, Hesiod warns against exposing the gods to pollution from the human body. Offensive actions include pouring libations with unwashed hands (*Op.* 724–726); exposing one's genitals to the hearth after sex (733–734); crossing a river with unwashed hands (738–741); and cutting one's nails at a feast for the gods.[10] Hesiod is particularly interested in preserving the purity of sacred spaces and times, such as during a libation, at the hearth, and during a festival feast. The gods he has in mind seem to be the Olympians, and perhaps others; he refers to 'Zeus and the other immortals' (725) and the 'gods' (θεοί, 741). One could interpret the phrase μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν in a similar light; like the hearth, a festival feast, and a libation, the night is particularly sacred to the gods, and so one should take special care to avoid offending them with bodily pollution at that time. West suggests that one can understand such a general association between nighttime and divinity in terms of the tendency throughout Greek mythology for gods to spend time on earth in places where mortals do not usually go, such as mountain tops and the sea; so too they walk the earth at times when mortals do not, such as during the night.[11]

10 West 1978, 334–335 argues that lines 757–759, which denounce urination and defecation in streams, are displaced and also belong in this passage.

11 West 1966, 156 and West 1978, 336. West cites the opening of the *Theogony*, when the

The context of the passage leaves open another possibility, however. Hesiod advises that one should avoid having sex after a funeral rather than after a feast for the gods (*Op.* 735–736), and this instruction functions differently than those considered above. Rather than protecting the gods from exposure to human pollution, Hesiod's concern here is with protecting humans from exposure to malevolent supernatural forces. It is possible that this is the sense that underlies μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν; the nighttime is particularly associated with dark forces that are harmful to humans, and it is best not to make oneself vulnerable during this time. Hesiod's use of the word μάκαρ elsewhere in his poetry leaves open this possibility. Toward the beginning of the *Theogony*, he states that the Muses commanded him to sing about the 'race of μάκαρες who always are' (μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων, *Th.* 33), indicating that μάκαρες can encompass all the members of the divine family tree contained in the *Theogony*. In the twelve times that the word appears throughout the poems, Hesiod never applies it to a typical human, cementing its association with the divine and supernatural.[12] However, during the myth of the five ages, Hesiod does use μάκαρες to describe a set of mortal beings—the people of the silver age—and this passage opens up a new semantic field for the word (*Op.* 140–142):

> But since the earth covered up this race too,
> they are called blessed mortals under the earth—
> in second place, but all the same honor attends upon these as well.
>
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
> τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται,
> δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.

De Heer takes this passage as evidence that μάκαρ can refer to chthonic beings as well as heavenly ones, and he suggests that this usage of the word is an apotropaic way of referring to the δαίμονες of popular superstition.[13] He argues

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Muses dance on Mt. Helicon at night. Perhaps also relevant are the Homeric epithets for night, ἄμβροτος and ἀμβροσίη. Although Hesiod does not use these epithets for night in the *Theogony* or *Works and Days*, they do reveal a general association in Archaic Greek thought between nighttime and divinity.

12 *Th.* 33, 101, 128, 881; *Op.* 136, 139, 141, 171, 549, 706, 718, 730. See also De Heer 1969, 19–27.

13 De Heer 1969, 21–23. De Heer argues that the phrase μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν in 730 refers to chthonic δαίμονες exclusively, and that it does not include the Olympian gods. He takes the genitive μακάρων to mean that the divinities encompassed by the word must have a special relationship with Night the goddess or possess the nighttime as their special domain. Since no such Olympians fit this description, he concludes that they are not operative in

that this chthonic sense of μάκαρ is operative in line 730 because of its nocturnal context and because the injunctions in this section of the *Works and Days* are all "of a magical nature."[14] Furthermore, because Hesiod is offering ways of avoiding the disfavor of the gods, it is reasonable that he should refer to the δαίμονες apotropaically as μάκαρες.[15] Clay takes this interpretation a step further, arguing that the fate of the silver age serves as Hesiod's explanation for how the δαίμονες came into existence.[16]

Thus, the lines surrounding the urination advice function in two ways: they prohibit the exposure of the gods to bodily pollution, as well as the exposure of the body to malevolent divinities. These lines also call to mind a range of deities; Zeus and the other immortals are close at hand (*Op.* 724–725), as are the θεοί (741), but the nocturnal context of the urination instructions also evokes more sinister forces. These considerations discourage the adoption of too restricted an interpretation of the μάκαρες at line 730. In fact, it seems more likely that the uncertain identity of the μάκαρες reflects a fundamental quality of night: it is a time of uncertainty, when reduced visibility makes it difficult to see what is coming and know what one is facing. The beings that occupy the nighttime could be forces of good or evil, and the problem with the night is that it makes it difficult to determine one from the other. The ambiguity of line 730 reflects the ambiguity of night itself.

This interpretation of μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν (*Op.* 730), although broad, provides some insight into Hesiod's insistence that nighttime is not a human domain. It is perhaps useful to understand the night as a liminal time in the same sense that the geographic extremes of the world are liminal spaces, unaccommodating of normal human activity. One can sail on the sea or climb to the peak of a mountain, but these places lack features that are necessary for sustaining a society, such as fresh water and arable land, and they contain an increased danger of injury or death. To inhabit them, one must be inhuman, lacking the limitations of the mortal body. So too, the night is inhospitable to humans, as darkness renders the essential tasks of a well-functioning society impossible and accommodates practices that harm it. Only beings who possess superhuman powers naturally belong in it, and impaired vision makes humans even less capable of discerning when these powers—or other dangers—are

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730 at all. However, there is no reason to adopt so restricted a reading. Hesiod could simply mean that the night is a sacred time for the gods in general, in the same sense that the hearth is a sacred space.

14 De Heer 1969, 22.

15 De Heer 1969, 22–23.

16 Clay 2003, 89–90.

present. Hesiod reinforces this strong association between human society and daytime in his description of a thief (*Op.* 604–605):

> And keep a dog with sharp teeth—don't be sparing with its food—
> lest some day-sleeping man steal your possessions from you.
>
> καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα κομεῖν—μὴ φείδεο σίτου—
> μή ποτέ σ' ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ χρήμαθ' ἕληται.

Although thieves operate at night, Hesiod describes them in terms of their daytime activity, highlighting the strong association between day and humanity. By directly associating daytime sleep with criminal activity, Hesiod also reveals the extreme suspicion with which he regards nighttime work; the daytime sleeper is one who actively undermines the efforts of daytime workers.[17] Thus, those active at night are μάκαρες—divine or supernatural forces whom humans cannot reliably perceive, let alone predict or control—and thieves, equally unpredictable, aberrant in their willingness to traverse a divine sphere, and traitorous in their readiness to exploit the human limitations to which they themselves are also bound. Night may benefit farmers by assisting their daytime work and providing respite from it, but the nighttime itself is marked by the possibility of unknown dangers. The darkness that renders the divine machinery of the cosmos visible also renders the mortal realm obscure.

3 Night in the *Theogony*

Having established the essential qualities of nighttime in human experience as Hesiod sees them, we are better equipped to assess the divinized Night in the *Theogony*. The *Works and Days* establishes night as a liminal zone at the fringes of the mortal experience, and reveals that when the nighttime allows the stars to become visible, it provides a point of reference by which humans can establish their place in the cosmos. As such, I will examine Night in the *Theogony* as a mother of forces that structure human life, from key experiences in the human life cycle to the moral codes that govern society. Yet her brood are invisible and intangible, reflecting the state to which the nighttime renders the world. Like the nighttime itself, Night's children include forces that

17 For another example of nocturnal imagery used to characterize a 'bandit' figure, see Pieper's chapter in this volume.

define the human experience, but that lie beyond our comprehension. I suggest that these children of Night reflect human anxieties about a particular kind of unknown—not that of the universe at large, but that of their own lives and their immediate world.

After the proem, Night next appears in the *Theogony* as one of the first beings in Hesiod's divine genealogy.[18] Here Hesiod introduces other aspects of her identity: that of daughter and mother. She emerges early in creation, preceded only by Chaos, Gaia, and Eros (*Th.* 115–123). She and her brother Erebus appear from Chaos, offering a darkness out of which the other features of the world can materialize; in this sense, Night's role in the cosmos complements the function that the nocturnal setting played for the song of the Muses. In order to bring this function to fruition, Erebus and Night give birth to Aether and Day (124–125); now, as Hesiod populates the universe, we can 'see' each new deity, imagining them in the light. The birth of Day from Night reflects the Greek practice of reckoning a sun cycle from night to day.[19] Later in the *Theogony*, Hesiod will construe this temporal rhythm spatially by depicting Night and Day as inhabitants of the same house who only see one another in passing; as one returns home, the other leaves to roam the earth (748–754). By converting the cosmos from a temporally homogeneous expanse into one that is cyclically demarcated, Night does nothing less than originate time itself.[20] In doing so, Night plays an important role in establishing the framework of the mortal experience, since mortals are by definition temporally constrained.

Later, we learn of a number of children that Night begets by parthenogenesis (*Th.* 211–225):[21]

> Night bore loathsome Doom and black Cause of Death
> 212 and Death itself, and she bore Sleep, and she bore the clan of Dreams.
> 214 Second, then, the gloomy goddess Night bore Blame and painful Misery,
> 213 although she had slept with none of the gods,
> 215 and the Hesperides, who tend the beautiful golden apples
> beyond glorious Ocean and the trees who bear this fruit.

18 On the position of Night in the cosmogonies of Hesiod and other authors, see Edmonds in this volume.

19 West 1978, 197.

20 Pirenne-Delforge 2018, 142. Pirenne-Delforge also points out that when Night originates time, she also establishes a crucial narrative structure of the *Theogony*, since genealogy is by definition temporally structured.

21 On the reversal of lines 213–214, see West 1966, as well as Arrighetti 1993, who argues in favor of the original order. On the bracketing of 218–219, see West 1966; I will discuss these lines later in this chapter.

And she bore the Doom-Givers and the Death-Bringers,
[Spinner and Portion and Inflexible, who give to humans
when they are born both good and evil to have,]
and who attend to the transgressions of both men and gods,
and the goddesses never cease from their terrifying wrath
until they give cruel vengeance to whoever commits a crime.
Deadly Night gave birth to Retribution too, a pain for mortal humans;
and after her she bore Deceit and Intimacy
and cursed Old Age, and she bore mighty Strife.

Νὺξ δ’ ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν
212 καὶ Θάνατον, τέκε δ’ Ὕπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φῦλον Ὀνείρων.
214 δεύτερον αὖ Μῶμον καὶ Ὀιζὺν ἀλγινόεσσαν
213 οὔ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα θεῶν τέκε Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή,
215 Ἑσπερίδας θ’, αἷς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
χρύσεα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπόν·
καὶ Μοίρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο νηλεοποίνους,
[Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἵ τε βροτοῖσι
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,]
αἵ τ’ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσιν,
οὐδέ ποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
πρίν γ’ ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακὴν ὄπιν, ὅστις ἁμάρτῃ.
τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν, πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
Νὺξ ὀλοή· μετὰ τὴν δ’ Ἀπάτην τέκε καὶ Φιλότητα
Γῆράς τ’ οὐλόμενον, καὶ Ἔριν τέκε καρτερόθυμον.

The catalogue poses a significant challenge to scholars who want to identify a unifying principle underlying its contents. The only characteristic common to all of Night’s children is that they are personifications of abstract concepts, which is fitting given their location in the bloodline of Chaos.[22] However, personified abstractions can be found in other branches of the family tree as well, prompting scholars to seek other means of explaining the contents of Night’s brood.[23] Although these attempts prove unsatisfactory as overarching

22 West 1966, 35. This is in contrast to Gaia’s bloodline, which includes more concrete bodies such as landforms and the Titans.

23 Gaia counts among her descendents, for instance, Bia (Force), Kratos (Strength), Zelos (Rivalry), and Nike (Victory) (*Th.* 402–407). Scholars who have offered overarching interpretations of the catalogue of Night’s children include Ramnoux 1959; Fränkel 1960, 317–323; Bremer 1976, 180–193; and Arrighetti 1993.

explanations of the passage, they shed light on a number of important compositional and thematic trends that run throughout the catalogue, including common attributes, structural patterns, and underlying metaphors.[24] The common denominator of these patterns, of course, is Night herself, and the actual temporal experience that she represents; each of Night's children may be associated with its mother in a variety of ways, and these associations may vary from one child to the next, but commonalities emerge among them because they share the same referent. Informed by Hesiod's characterization of nighttime in the *Works and Days*, I will focus on one particular trend that crops up throughout the catalogue of Night's children that other scholars have already noted: the particular relevance of Night's children to mortal life.[25]

The theme of mortal significance is readily apparent in the first three of Night's children, Moros, Ker, and Thanatos, who represent different aspects of death. Later in the *Theogony* Hesiod characterizes Thanatos as cold-hearted

24 Ramnoux 1959, 65 suggests that Night's children are exclusively negative, but in fact, many are ambiguous, as will become clear throughout my discussion of this passage. Fränkel concludes that everything negative in Hesiod's cosmos comes from Night, but not all of Night's children are negative (1960, 317–323). Yet even this assessment is not without exception: e.g., Gaia gives birth to the Erinyes (*Th.* 185), who seem closely akin to some of the Night's progeny, especially the punishing Keres (*Th.* 220–222). Bremer 1976, 180–193 argues that Night's children are unified by their participation in the metaphor of *Verstullung*, concealment or enshrouding. This metaphor is important to my analysis, but I hesitate to identify it as the guiding principle underlying the contents of the catalogue; e.g., the presence of Sleep and Dreams among Night's children is surely best explained by their literal relationship with nighttime (as activities that take place at night) than by a tangential metaphorical connection. And, once again, other divinities that partake in the metaphor of enshrouding, such as the Erinyes, are born outside Night's bloodline. Arrighetti 1993 argues that each of Night's children falls into one of three groups based on its position in the catalogue, and that each of these groups is unified by a particular shared characteristic. Some of Night's children do share close conceptual relationships to those listed near them, but it is untenable to categorize them as strictly as Arrighetti does; e.g., he states that the first five of Night's children are unified by their association with darkness, but, as Pucci 2009, 55–56 points out, darkness is surely an operative metaphor in more of her brood than just the first five. Most recently, Pirenne-Delforge 2018 has highlighted the relevance of Night's children to the human condition, and this is also the theme on which I focus. However, I do so without asserting the primacy of this theme; some of Night's children (e.g., Sleep, the Hesperides) better exemplify other structural and thematic trends.

25 Costa 1968, 64; Lamberton 1988, 81–82; Clay 1988, 330; Clay 2003, 143–144; Pirenne-Delforge 2018, 141–142. Stoddard 2004, 172–176 focuses on the role of the human experience among the children of Night's daughter Strife, who are listed immediately after Night's own children (*Th.* 226–232).

and absolute; whomever he touches he possesses (*Th.* 762–766). Elsewhere in the literary and material record, personifications of Thanatos range from gentle, like his brother Sleep, to harsh, as Hesiod depicts him.[26] However, nowhere is he as ghastly as Ker, whom the *Iliad* depicts covered in blood, seizing men indiscriminately and dragging them around the battlefield.[27] These passages, along with the usage of the words κήρ and θάνατος in Homeric epic, have led scholars to conclude that the personified Ker represents the physicality of death, the particular condition that results in death, while Thanatos is the finality of death, the end result of the violence that the body undergoes.[28]

If there was a tradition of personifying Moros, evidence of it does not survive, and Hesiod does not use the word elsewhere.[29] In Homeric epic it can refer to a person's fate generally, or to death specifically.[30] The adjectives that Hesiod uses to describe the personified Moros and Ker in the catalogue of Night's children indicate that they are menacing entities (στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν, *Th.* 211), and the syntax of lines 211–212 suggests that they form a cohesive group with Thanatos; all three are objects of the same verb in 211, and Hesiod provides new verbs to govern the next members of the catalogue, Sleep and the tribe of Dreams.[31] Taken together, Moros, Ker, and Thanatos represent three aspects of death, and the order in which Hesiod lists them reflects a logical progression: Moros evokes the fate that awaits all mortals, Ker is how it will happen, and Thanatos its result.[32] Mortal life is temporally constricted, and so it is fitting that Night, who originated time itself, should engender the forces that make it so.[33]

26 Vermeule 1979, 37–39; Vernant 1986; Burton 2005; *LIMC* s.v. Thanatos.

27 *Il.* 18.535–538; these lines also appear at Hes. *Sc.* 156–160, likely interpolated from the *Iliad*. On this and other examples of the personified Ker, see Vermeule 1979, 39–41; Vernant 1986; Burton 2005; and *LIMC* s.v. Ker.

28 On the usage of κήρ in Homeric epic, see Dietrich 1965, 240–248. Vernant 1986 and Burton 2005 draw on both the literary and material records to discuss the personifications of Ker and Thanatos in terms of their genders, identifying the feminine Ker/Keres with the violence of death and the masculine Thanatos with a clean and heroic death.

29 *LIMC* contains no entry for Moros, and I know of no other examples in the literary record of Moros personified.

30 Dietrich 1965, 260–270.

31 West 1966, 227.

32 Burton 2005, 46.

33 Stoddard 2004, 140 points out that Hesiod's description of the house of Night and Day emphasizes that they do not partake in the mortal experience of time: "the dwelling-place of the gods is so far removed from the human realm of linear time that the very concepts

It is useful to consider these first three children of Night alongside Philotes (Intimacy) and Geras (Old Age), who represent other embodied experiences in human life. The word φιλότης can refer to intimacy either friendly or sexual, but in the *Theogony*, the latter is far more common; gods often 'mingle in φιλότης' with one another, and the children that Gaia begets by parthenogenesis are born 'without φιλότης' (*Th.* 132).[34] Night counts among her children, then, three elements of the human life cycle: sexual reproduction, old age, and death. In this way, Night bestows upon mortals not only their mortality itself, but also the experiences of procreation and aging that define it. Mortal life is by definition finite and iterative, and in this sense it is fitting that Night, as a cyclical temporal expanse, should engender the forces that make it so. Night provides things that are certain about mortal life, that anchor humans to their humanity, recalling the function of nighttime in the *Works and Days* as the time during which humans anchor their life's work to a cosmic framework. The irony of the mortal condition is that all sources of certainty are also sources of uncertainty; humans can make out rough outlines of their lives, dimly discern the shadow of their ultimate fate, but they cannot see clearly what is in front of them. Like nighttime itself, the personified Night illuminates the big picture of human life, but obscures the details.

Another entry in the catalogue with a specific connection to human life is the Moirai, who 'give to mortals when they are born good and evil to have' (*Th.* 218–219). However, the Moirai present a difficult case, because in addition to situating the Fates among the children of Night (217–219), Hesiod also calls them daughters of Zeus and Themis (904–906). Lines 218–219 in the catalogue of Night's children are identical to 905–906. However, these two lines fit awkwardly in the list of Night's progeny, interrupting Hesiod's description of the Keres in 220, and are likely an interpolation from their later appearance at 905–906.[35] The context of 905–906 is instructive, however. Hesiod ascribes the

of day and night lose their meaning there, to the extent that they can even draw nigh to one another."

34 Pirenne-Delforge 2018, 142 also takes Φιλότης in the catalogue of Night's children to refer to sex. In the context of reproduction of the divine family tree, φιλότης appears at *Th.* 125, 132, 177, 306, 333, 374, 375, 380, 405, 625, 822, 920, 923, 927, 941, 944, 961, 970, 980, 1005, 1009, 1012, and 1018. The only exceptions to this pattern are when φιλότης is named as an attribute of Aphrodite (206); when it is personified among the children of Night (224); and when it refers to the friendship between Zeus and the Hundred-Handed giants (651). On φιλότης in the *Theogony*, see Bonnafé 1985.

35 There are no scholia on *Th.* 218–219. Stobaeus omits them in one excerpt (1.3.38) and includes them in another (1.5.5). For further discussion of these lines see West 1966, 229 and 408.

Moirai to Themis and Zeus immediately after he relates the story of Metis, who was fated to produce a daughter, followed by a son equal to Zeus in strength (894–897). Zeus manages to avert this fate by swallowing Metis, on the advice of Gaia and Uranus (886–891). Hesiod does not ascribe such power over fate to other gods; Zeus' predecessor Cronus was unable to avoid being overthrown, despite his plot to swallow his children (453–500). By naming Zeus as the father of the Fates immediately after describing Zeus' agency over his fate, Hesiod sets Zeus apart from the other gods and establishes a key characteristic of his power. Furthermore, when Zeus swallows Metis, he subsumes her into his stomach so that she might advise him about good and evil (899–900); just six lines later, Themis gives birth to 'Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos who give to mortals when they are born good and evil to have' (905–906). The endings of lines 900 and 906 are identical (ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε), creating another point of continuity between the power of Zeus and that of the Fates. Hence, scholars have understood this second birth of the Fates as a meaningful revision that brings the Fates into line with the regime of Zeus and reconciles them with a new system of justice.[36] It is also possible to consider the dual parentage of the Fates as divine and mortal perspectives on the determination of the future. As children of Zeus and Themis, the Moirai are concretized as discrete beings, depicted as sources of balance in a new world order, and rendered knowable and controllable; as children of Night, the role of the Moirai as distributors of στυγερὸς Μόρος comes to the fore.

The pairing of the Moirai and Keres at line 217 in the catalogue of Night's children recalls the pairing of Moros and Ker in the catalogue's first line (*Th.* 211), and for this reason the Moirai and Keres seem to be operating in their roles as bringers of death.[37] But now Hesiod also attributes to the Keres—and maybe the Moirai as well—the function of punishing transgressions.[38] Others among

36 E.g., Solmsen 1949, 36–37, 205; Dietrich 1965, 59–60; Clay 2003, 29.

37 Moros seems to be the mortal fate that the Moirai assign, but the relationship between Ker and the Keres is less clear, since one is simply the plural form of the other. In the Hesiodic *Scutum*, Keres are personified as a group of female figures who each resemble Ker (*Sc.* 248–257). By proximity to Moros and Moirai, we might understand Ker and Keres as "Cause of Death" and "Those Who Bestow the Cause of Death," which fits with the Homeric practice of using the plural κῆρες to evoke a hero's fate (Dietrich 1965, 240–248). However, the implication of violence and brutality is still present in Hesiod's Keres, since he depicts them as punishers.

38 In this role the Keres recall the Erinyes, who at this point in the *Theogony* have already been born; fittingly, they sprung from the blood shed by Uranus after Gaia enacted her revenge plot (183–185). Before the fifth century, it is difficult to distinguish the roles of the

Night's progeny reflect a similar preoccupation with the consequences of incorrect actions, in particular Momos (Blame) and Nemesis (Indignation). These forces, although frightening, provide moral structure to society. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod predicts that when the race of iron falls, humans will abandon morality in favor of evildoing, relationships will break down, and social institutions will disintegrate. During this time, humans will not consider the retribution (ὄπις, *Op.* 187) of the gods, and Aidos and Nemesis will wrap themselves in white cloaks and leave the mortal sphere (*Op.* 197–200). The white cloaks of Aidos and Nemesis suggest purity rather than evil, and West interprets those divinities as "forces that inhibit wickedness, one working from inside, the other, public disapproval, from without."[39] The *Works and Days* thus shows another side of the Keres (as givers of retribution, ὄπις, *Th.* 222) and Nemesis as servants of the greater good in the current age of humanity; in this way, they undergo the same doubling as their sister Eris.[40] Thus, just as some of Night's progeny structure, and thereby define, the human life cycle, so others structure human society, bestowing upon it the features that hold it together and render it a society in the first place. The form that this structure takes is cyclical, a continual succession of deed and consequence, action and reaction, and in this sense it reflects nighttime itself. However, once again the very elements that provide structure and surety are also those that introduce uncertainty and fear; Momos, the Keres, and Nemesis do not embody fears of inevitabilities, like that of death, but fears of suffering that is in some way self-inflicted.

The children of Night that I have discussed so far reflect anxiety about future events, but others evoke the unknowns of the present. One example is Eris, Strife, whose dual nature Hesiod explains in the *Works and Days*. Hesiod characterizes the two Erides as driving forces behind human interaction, but suggests that humans can't always distinguish them; the good Eris is praiseworthy once one spots it (νοήσας, *Op.* 12), implying that it is difficult to recognize. Eris' sister Philotes seems to exhibit a similar double nature. We have seen Hesiod use φιλότης in the context of sexual reproduction, which is beneficial insofar as it is largely responsible for the divine family tree and for the sons that ensure proper succession among mortals. In a non-sexual context, the word is also positive.[41] Yet φιλότης can also be treacherous, as the events preceding the cata-

Keres and Erinyes. In Homeric epic, the Erinyes are associated with punishment, but they appear in other dark and supernatural contexts as well (Padel 1992, 164–167). Aeschylus conflates the Keres with the Erinyes directly (Κῆρες Ἐρινύες, *Th.* 1055).

39 West 1978, 204.

40 Clay 2003, 144.

41 Hesiod uses φιλότης to refer to the friendship between Zeus and the Hundred-Handed

logue of Night's children demonstrates.[42] Uranus is ambushed when he desires φιλότης with Gaia (*Th.* 177), and from his castrated genitals comes Aphrodite, whose purview includes not only delight, gentleness, and sweet φιλότης, but also deceits (*Th.* 205–206).[43] Likewise, Deceit immediately precedes Philotes in the catalogue of Night's children and embodies the very challenge that the doubleness of Eris and Philotes poses to mortals: that of distinguishing between appearance and reality.[44] This lack of insight is a defining feature of the human condition as Hesiod conceives of it, since human suffering occurs because Zeus 'concealed the means of life' (*Op.* 42). As a result of this obscurity, humans must work to interpret the world around them, be it by distinguishing the good Eris from the bad, rooting out a treacherous woman, or reading the stars to plan their work; a failure to interpret can leave one vulnerable to deception, which is also personified in Night's brood.[45] These children of Night reflect the confines of human knowledge and ability, acting as forces that structure the human condition in the same way that others structure the human life cycle and social interaction. The obscurity of one's present circumstances, a defining quality of nighttime, is also a defining quality of mortal life.

In considering how obscurity functions as a metaphor for the limitations of human knowledge, it is necessary to take into account Night's gender and the fatherlessness of her children. Scholars have noted that some of Night's children embody key features of Pandora, the archetypal woman, and that Night and Pandora serve corresponding functions.[46] Among Night's children, Deceit and Intimacy (Φιλότης) have a clear connection to Pandora; she is herself a trick, and she presumably introduces sex into the mortal world. Furthermore, Zeus creates her as a punishment for the crimes of Prometheus; in this, she recalls those of Night's children that have to do with punishment and retribution, such as Keres and Nemesis. Hesiod also calls both Nemesis and Pandora a πῆμα for mortals.[47] Furthermore, both introduce ominous forces into the

giants, and this is the only instance in the *Theogony* or *Works and Days* in which this word is explicitly non-sexual; cf. n. 34.

42 Arrighetti 1993, 112; Bonnafé 1985, 15–16.

43 Clay 2003, 96 points out that a number of Night's children recall elements of the Gaia/Uranus myth, including Apate, Philotes, Neikea, and Eris. See also Pirenne-Delforge 2018, 140.

44 The double nature of Eris and Philotes also reflects a broader Hesiodic tendency to present a concept from multiple, occasionally contradictory perspectives; such multiplicity is a feature of Hesiod's genre as well as his worldview (Rowe 1983, esp. 128).

45 On obscurity as an invitation to interpretation, see Sluiter 2016.

46 Rowe 1983, 132; Clay 2003, 143–144; Scully 2015, 196, n. 45; Pirenne-Delforge 2018, 141.

47 *Th.* 592, *Op.* 82.

world, and in both cases, that they do so alone, without a male partner. In these ways, Night resembles the archetypal mortal woman, and her children reflect the characteristics that define this woman.

These features that Night and her children share with Pandora also recall Hesiod's characterization of women more broadly. Hesiod advises (*Op.* 373–378):

> Do not let a fancy-assed woman deceive your mind,
> a flatterer who cajoles you while she rummages through your granary:
> whoever trusts a woman, trusts cheats.
> Let there be a son, an only-child, to nourish the father's household;
> this is how wealth is increased in the halls.
> And may you die an old man, leaving behind a second generation after
> you.
>
> μηδὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω
> αἱμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεὴν διφῶσα καλιήν·
> ὃς δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε, πέποιθ' ὅ γε φιλήτῃσιν.
> μουνογενὴς δὲ πάις εἴη πατρώιον οἶκον
> φερβέμεν· ὣς γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀέξεται ἐν μεγάροισιν·
> γηραιὸς δὲ θάνοις ἕτερον παῖδ' ἐγκαταλείπων.

The close association between women and deception makes it fitting that Night should beget Deceit with no male partner.[48] Furthermore, Hesiod characterizes the particular deception in which women engage as thievery, an activity which we have seen Hesiod associate with the nighttime (*Op.* 604–605). This recalls his description of Pandora as having a thievish character (ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος, *Op.* 78). Yet in this passage Hesiod also insists on the production of a male heir, reminding us that women are necessary for the human life cycle to continue, both in a physical sense of birth and death, and in a social sense of the passing on and amplification of wealth. The introduction of womankind into the world offers man a means of addressing his temporariness, extending his one life cycle into another and another, mitigating his mortality.[49] Hesiod depicts the personified Night in this role in the *Theogony*; before producing her multifarious progeny by parthenogenesis, she and Erebus together create Day, thereby originating the sun cycle and exemplifying the kind of positive succession that

48 In the parthenogenic births of the *Theogony*, like tends to beget like; Park 2014.
49 Zeitlin 1996, 85–86; cf. Bal 1983, 118–119.

occurs as a result of a heterosexual union. Indeed, Hesiod acknowledges that not all women are evil (*Op.* 702–705):

> For a man acquires nothing better than a wife,
> a good one, but as for a bad one, there is nothing more horrible,
> one who lies in wait for her dinner, who singes her husband without a torch,
> although he is stronger, and who turns him over to cruel old age.
>
> οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληΐζετ' ἄμεινον
> τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὐ ῥίγιον ἄλλο,
> δειπνολόχης, ἥ τ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἴφθιμόν περ ἐόντα
> εὕει ἄτερ δαλοῖο καὶ ὠμῷ γήραϊ δῶκεν.

Hesiod focuses on the dangerous qualities of women, associating them with old age, whom Hesiod personifies as a child of Night.[50] But, like the two Erides, women can be good as well as bad, and the issue is that it is difficult to distinguish them. Like the nighttime, women provide blessings on a more cosmic level, but conceal unknowable threats in the immediate present.

Thus, among Night and her children one can identify a pattern of markedly feminine qualities, which can be traced back to the literal nighttime through the obscurity that Hesiod associates with women. The gendered quality of Night's obscurity is especially important to keep in mind when considering those of her progeny that reflect mortal concerns, because mortality and femininity are inextricable in Hesiodic thought; women bring cruel old age (*Op.* 705) and death-giving diseases (*Op.* 91–92), and they prey upon man's limited capacity for knowledge. The myth of Pandora depicts them as the source of the suffering that defines the human condition. In this way, the experience of nighttime informs the contents of Night's brood via a complex network of interrelated concepts, including death, ignorance, femininity, and humanity. Although I have focused my analysis on one of these issues in particular—the confines of human knowledge—it is impossible to examine any one in complete isolation.

50 Cf. Bonnafé 1985, 16.

4 Conclusion

Hesiodic night/Night comprises a semantic and cognitive labyrinth through which there are a number of profitable routes. An examination of night in the *Works and Days* reveals a number of features that also manifest throughout Night's brood in the *Theogony*, including night's cyclicality, the insights that it offers into a higher cosmic order, and the obscurity that it imposes upon human life. Although these are only a few of the metaphorical links joining nighttime and Night—a few paths through the maze—they are instructive ones, and worth considering in light of the passage with which this essay began: the *Theogony*'s proem, where night appears as both a temporal setting and a goddess. The nocturnal setting of the Muses' song is fitting given the characterization of night that Hesiod establishes elsewhere, as a time of increased divine activity on earth. What is more, this liminal time also speaks to the role of the Muses as mediators between gods and mortals. The song of the Muses, and the knowledge it contains, cuts through the darkness and offers cosmic insight, just as the stars do for mortals. Both the Muses, and the stars, however, require an interpreter, someone who can translate higher knowledge into human terms; this is, of course, Hesiod himself, who unfolds the song of the Muses in the *Theogony*, and the secrets of the stars in the *Works and Days*. The obscurity of certain passages of these poems, such as the catalogue of Night's children (obscure in both senses of the word), serves as a reminder of the ways in which Hesiod invites his audience, too, to become interpreters: of divine signs, of the two Erides, of each other, and of his own poetry. Just as Hesiod encourages Perses to read the stars, so also he encourages his audience to peer into Night's brood and glimpse the outline of a higher cosmic order.

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CHAPTER 2

First-Born of Night or Oozing from the Slime? Deviant Origins in Orphic Cosmogonies

Radcliffe G. Edmonds III

> [In his account of the theogony of Orpheus,] Eudemus begins with the principle of Night, from which Homer too begins, even if [Homer] has not written a continuous genealogy. One must not agree when Eudemus says that Homer makes [everything] begin from Oceanus and from Tethys. For Homer clearly knew that Night was the greatest god.[1]
>
> ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνεχῆ πεποίηται τὴν γενεαλογίαν, ἵστησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδεκτέον Εὐδήμου λέγοντος ὅτι ἀπὸ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἄρχεται· φαίνεται γὰρ εἰδὼς καὶ τὴν Νύκτα μεγίστην οὕτω θεόν.
>
> DAM. *Pr.* 124, 319.7–15

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1 Introduction

What does it mean for Night, rather than some other principle, to be the beginning of everything? In his treatise on First Principles (*archai*), Damascius, the last head of the Platonic Academy in the fifth century CE, describes several Orphic cosmogonies that deviate significantly from one another even within their first stages, one positing Time as its first principle or *archê*, another Water, and yet another Night. Although Damascius presents the evidence to show that all these cosmogonies have the same underlying meaning and structure, here I want to argue the exact opposite, that the evidence Damascius provides, taken together with other evidence for Orphic and other cosmogonies, shows that they all have different structures and different meanings, constructed to express a variety of understandings of the cosmos.

1 Translations of Damascius are taken from Ahbel-Rappe 2010 with slight modifications.

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While Damascius assumes that the theology underlying Orphic cosmogonies must correlate to his own Neoplatonic cosmology of a single, ineffable principle followed by principles of the unlimited, limit, and being, modern scholars have often assumed that all Orphic cosmogonies must correlate to their own reconstructions of Orphic theology, supporting in some way or other the nucleus of doctrines they see as constituting the essence of Orphism. The name of Orpheus, however, was attached to many different texts by poets who wished to borrow the authority of the mythical singer for their own ideas, and no nucleus of doctrines can be found across the whole hubbub of books that circulated under Orpheus' name—or even in the limited remnants that have come down to us. There was no Orph-ism, anymore than there was Pre-Socratism; both are modern labels for describing the ideas found in a set of texts, all of which differ from each other in significant ways.[2] Scholars such as West and Bernabé have reconstructed the fragments of cosmogonies attributed to Orpheus, but their attempts to unify the fragments have led to distortions that suppress the variety of deviating models that appear in the evidence.

I suggest instead that taking each of these cosmogonies as the product of bricolage, that is, creative reworking of the tale using different pieces of the mythic tradition to suit each particular text, better illuminates the evidence. The bricoleur's choice of which originary principle (*archê*) to begin the cosmogony with is one of the choices of mythic elements and story structures that creates the differing meanings for the cosmogonies.[3] Each element of the story may be regarded on the analogy of a syntactic unit of a sentence, and, within that syntagmatic structure, the selection of one particular element—or especially the paradigmatic substitution of a different element from another's telling—creates a different meaning for the story of how the universe comes to be.

Each of the creators of these cosmogonies is working with the same set of pieces from the mythic tradition: Zeus, Cronus, Uranus, earth, water, air, fire, Night, Time, Chaos; but each selects certain pieces to put in various places in the story of how the cosmos came into being. These deviations represent

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2 As I have argued at length in Edmonds 2013, 'Orphic' is best described as a label for texts and rituals perceived to be extraordinary in their claims to purity, antiquity, divinity or foreign origin.

3 As Burkert 1999, 93 notes: "In the whole family of cosmogonic myths, 'water' appears to be just one option among others. 'Night' should be granted equal status, with parallel opportunities for interpretation—be it uterine night, or the Unconscious; combinations of the two will do just as well: 'darkness' and 'water,' as they appear in Genesis. The 'yawning gap' of Hesiod does not fit so well, nor the Egyptian 'god.' At any rate, each of these formulas appears already embedded in a contextual system which is spelt out linguistically in the respective texts."

varying cosmological speculations by Orphicists (authors who adopt Orpheus' name for their poems) at different times, addressing different cosmological questions about the *archê*: *what* came first? *when* did things come into being? *how* did things begin? The placement of Night or Water or Time at the *archê* of the cosmos tells us which of these questions the cosmologist puts priority on.

Damascius' treatise on first principles provides (unfortunately) some of the best evidence we have for the content of cosmogonic myths, not just those labeled 'Orphic' but others as well. The fifth-century CE Damascius makes use of a catalogue of different cosmologies compiled by the fourth-century BCE student of Aristotle, Eudemus, who made comparisons not only among the Greek sources but with Persian, Phoenician, and Egyptian sources as well. Damascius includes one Orphic cosmogony from Eudemus' catalogue that starts with Night, but he also mentions two others: one he associates with the Rhapsodies of Orpheus that starts with Time, and one that starts with Water, which he has found in the account of another scholar, whose name, he tells us, is either Hieronymus or Hellanicus (or maybe both). In addition to Damascius' evidence, the earliest witness to an Orphic cosmogony comes in the Derveni Papyrus, a text discovered in a fourth-century BCE tomb containing a discussion of an Orphic poem with cosmogonic elements whose first principle is Night. The Derveni Author interprets the poem of Orpheus according to his own philosophical ideas and, like Damascius and other interpreters, shifts the meaning of the cosmogonic myth by positing a different kind of *archê* than the text depicts. Such interpretive distortions appear as early as the *Synagôgê* of Hippias, but Aristotle's discussion in his *Metaphysics* of the cosmological ideas of his predecessors provides further examples of the ways the meaning of a cosmogonic account can be shifted by ignoring or traducing the choice of the bricoleur who composed the text.

In this study, I examine the choices to put Water, Time, or Night as the *archê* of the cosmogony, starting with the accounts of Damascius but also looking at other accounts, including those (both ancient and modern) that distort the meaning created by the cosmogonist's choice by reinterpreting the text to create a different *archê*. Rather than assuming that all of the Orphic cosmogonies either convey the same religious message or, alternatively, fall into a schema of evolution of cosmological thought that abandons some issues as it develops, I suggest that each cosmogony raises different and enduringly valid questions: what makes up the cosmos? when or how does it come into being? In addressing these questions, a cosmogonist puts forth a different idea of the nature of cosmos, whether he depicts the first entity of the cosmos as the glittering firstborn child of Night or a monster that oozes from the slime of the primordial water and mud.

2 The Cosmogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus

> The theology according to Hieronymus or Hellanicus (if indeed he is not actually the same) is as follows. In the beginning, he says, there were water and matter, from which earth was coagulated, and these he establishes as the first two principles, water and earth, the latter as capable of dispersion, and the former as providing coherence and connection for earth. He omits the single principle (before the two) [on the grounds that it is] ineffable, since the fact that he does not even mention it, shows its ineffable nature. But as for the third principle after the two, it arose from these, I mean from water and earth, and it is a dragon with the heads of a lion and a bull grown upon it, and in the middle the countenance of a god, and it has wings on its shoulders, and the same god is called Ageless Time (Chronos), and Heracles. And Necessity is united with it, which is the same nature as Adrasteia, stretching the arms of its bimorph body throughout the entire cosmos, touching the very boundaries of it. I think that this is said to be the third principle that functions as their substance, except that they represent it as male-female in order to show that it is the generating cause of all things.
>
> Ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν, οὕτως ἔχει· "Ὕδωρ ἦν, φησίν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ ὕλη, ἐξ ἧς ἐπάγη ἡ γῆ," δύο ταύτας ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενος πρῶτον, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν, ταύτην μὲν ὡς φύσει σκεδαστήν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὡς ταύτης κολλητικόν τε καὶ συνεκτικόν, τὴν δὲ μίαν πρὸ τῶν δυεῖν ἄρρητον ἀφίησιν· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μηδὲ φάναι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐνδείκνυται αὐτῆς τὴν ἀπόρρητον φύσιν· τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀρχὴν μετὰ τὰς δύο γεννηθῆναι μὲν ἐκ τούτων, ὕδατός φημι καὶ γῆς, δράκοντα δὲ εἶναι κεφαλὰς ἔχοντα προσπεφυκυίας ταύρου καὶ λέοντος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερά, ὠνομάσθαι δὲ Χρόνον ἀγήραον καὶ Ἡρακλῆα τὸν αὐτόν· συνεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀνάγκην, φύσιν οὖσαν τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἀδράστειαν ἀσώματον διωργυιωμένην ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τῶν περάτων αὐτοῦ ἐφαπτομένην. Ταύτην ⟨δὲ⟩ οἶμαι λέγεσθαι τὴν τρίτην ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἑστῶσαν, πλὴν ὅτι ἀρσενόθηλυν αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γεννητικῆς αἰτίας.
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> DAM. *Pr.* 317.14–318.6

Damascius attributes one of the Orphic cosmogonies to the account of Hieronymus or Hellanicus, although he admits uncertainty as to whether they are one and the same. Uncertainty about the identity of this source also prevails among modern scholars, although I have argued elsewhere for accepting Lobeck's suggestion to identify them with the fifth-century BCE sophist Hellan-

icus of Lesbos and the third-century BCE Peripatetic Hieronymus of Rhodes.[4] The second-century Christian apologist Athenagoras gives an account of an Orphic cosmogony that conforms in so many details with this that they may be accepted as deriving from the same Orphic text (Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis* 18):

> Not from the beginning, as they say, did gods exist, but each one of them came into existence just we did. And this is agreed by everyone, as Homer says:
>
> Oceanus, origin of the gods, and mother Tethys;
>
> and Orpheus, who was also the first to invent their names and to recount their births, and to say all the things done by each, and who is believed among them to recount more truly the things divine, whom even Homer follows most in most matters, especially about the gods—Orpheus, too, has established the first origin to be from water:
>
> Oceanus, the very one who is made the origin of all.
>
> For, according to him, water was the first principle of the universe, and out of the water mud was formed, and from both was born a living being, a dragon having the head of a lion growing on it, and in the middle of them there was the face of a god, named Heracles and Chronos. This Heracles generated an enormous egg, which, when it was fully developed, was torn in two through friction by the force of its generator. And so the part at the top turned out to be Heaven (Uranos), and the lower part Earth (Gê). The deity, moreover, came forth double-bodied; and Uranos, having mingled with Gê, begat females, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos; and males, the hundred-handed Cottos, Gyges, Briareus, and the Cyclopes Brontes, and Steropes, and Arges. Having bound all of whom he hurled them down to Tartarus, since he had learned that he was going to be ousted by his children from his rule. Gê, being enraged because of this, brought forth the Titans.

> οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥς φασιν, ἦσαν οἱ θεοί, ἀλλ' οὕτως γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ὡς γιγνόμεθα ἡμεῖς· καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ξυμφωνεῖται, Ὁμήρου μὲν [γὰρ] λέγοντος
>
> Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
>
> Ὀρφέως δέ, ὃς καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐξηῦρεν καὶ τὰς γενέσεις διεξῆλθεν καὶ ὅσα ἑκάστοις πέπρακται εἶπεν καὶ πεπίστευται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀληθέστε-

4 See Edmonds 2013, 19, as well as Edmonds 2019, 90–96.

> ρον θεολογεῖν, ᾧ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ θεῶν μάλιστα ἕπεται, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὕδατος συνιστάντος
>
> Ὠκεανός, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.
>
> ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη, ἐκ δὲ ἑκατέρων ἐγεννήθη ζῷον δράκων προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος, διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Χρόνος. οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ᾠόν, ὃ συμπληρούμενον ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐκ παρατριβῆς εἰς δύο ἐρράγη. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ Οὐρανὸς εἶναι ἐτελέσθη, τὸ δὲ κάτω ἐνεχθὲν Γῆ· προῆλθε δὲ καὶ θεὸς † γη δισώματος. Οὐρανὸς δὲ Γῇ μιχθεὶς γεννᾷ θηλείας μὲν Κλωθώ, Λάχεσιν, Ἄτροπον, ἄνδρας δὲ Ἑκατόγχειρας Κόττον, Γύγην, Βριάρεων καὶ Κύκλωπας, Βρόντην καὶ Στερόπην καὶ Ἄργην· οὓς καὶ δήσας κατεταρτάρωσεν, ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων τῆς ἀρχῆς μαθών. διὸ καὶ ὀργισθεῖσα ἡ Γῆ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐγέννησεν.

In both accounts, the *archê* is identified as water, which swirls around with matter (*hylê*) or mud (*hilus*) to generate earth as another principle. Out of these two *archai*, oozing as it were from the slime, comes the monstrous form of Chronos, also called Heracles.

Scholars such as West have assumed that, because the physical elements are put first, the account must be a later development, as mythos gave way to more logos. "It is odd," says West, "that physical elements should exist before Unaging Time, and odder still that they should appear at all in a poetic theogony which goes on to talk about winged serpents and a cosmic egg."[5] West supposes that the account must derive from a late Stoic interpretation of Oceanus and Tethys (or perhaps Gê) as physical elements. The interest in a material *archê*, however, appears long before the Stoics. Aristotle, in his review of his predecessors' ideas of how the cosmos came into being, posits four types of causes for anything (formal, material, efficient, and final) and notes that various thinkers proposed every element as original principle in terms of the material cause. Hesiod puts Earth first, he remarks, but most of the others preferred water or air or fire.[6] Aristotle is unconcerned whether the name given to the entity is Oceanus or water (ὕδωρ), Gaia or earth (γῆ); he sees all these accounts as providing the material cause of the cosmos (and thereby neglecting the other kinds of causes).

Aristotle's classification of various poets and other thinkers in groups according to their first principle seems to derive from the sorting that the sophist

5 West 1983, 183.
6 Arist. *Metaph.* I.iii 983b–984a; I.viii 989a.

Hippias performed in his *Synagôgê*, where he brought together prose authors and poets, Greeks and barbarians, and lumped them according to their ideas—or his reinterpretations of them. Recent scholarship has shown that Hippias' catalogue lies behind a number of references in Plato and Aristotle, as well as the account of Eudemus upon which Damascius draws.[7] The peculiar reading of Hesiod's *Theogony* as a cosmogony that begins with water may indeed go back to the same source, as Hippias seems to have classified both Homer and Hesiod with Thales, Pherecydes, and others who imagine the world beginning with water. Among many interpreters, then, Hesiod's Chaos is taken, not as a yawning chasm (in keeping with its historical etymology) but rather as a flowing mass of liquid.[8]

The Orphic cosmogony Damascius finds in Hieronymus might have had water as the *archê*, or it might, as the report of Athenagoras suggests, have had Oceanus, but it also might have begun with Chaos and have been reinterpreted as beginning with water because of this equation of Hesiodic Chaos and water. The substitution could have come from the Peripatetic Hieronymus' reading of Hippias or even from the account of Hippias' contemporary Hellanicus. In any case, in the account of the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* (probably composed somewhere in the second or third century CE), the Orphic cosmogony is said to begin with watery Chaos, out of which an egg is formed like a bubble ([Clement] *Homilies* 6.3–6):

> And Orpheus compares chaos to an egg, in which there was a pouring together of the primordial elements. Hesiod posits this chaos, which Orpheus says is an egg that is generated, composed from infinite matter, and having come into being in the following manner. Matter, being of four types and endowed with life, was a boundless whole, a kind of

7 Hippias fr. 4 = DK 86, B6 = Clem.Al. *Strom.* 6.15.2. Cf. Betegh 2002, citing Mansfield 1983 and Snell 1966. Cf. Pl. *Tht.* 152e, 160d, and 180cd, as well as *Cra.* 402bc, where the idea of Homer and Orpheus that the world began with Oceanus is identified with Heraclitus' doctrine of flow.

8 Plu. *Aquane* 955a: τοῖς πλείστοις γὰρ ὠνομακέναι δοκεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρὰ τὴν χύσιν ('It seems to most people that he [Hesiod] named water in this fashion [as Chaos] because of its flowing (*chysis*)'); cf. Schol. A.R. 1.498 = *SVF* I. 104: καὶ Ζήνων δὲ τὸ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ χάος ὕδωρ εἶναί φησιν, οὗ συνιζάνοντος ἰλὺν γίνεσθαι, ἧς πηγνυμένης ἡ γῆ στερεμνιοῦται ('Zeno also says that Hesiod's Chaos is water, from the settlement of which mud comes into being, and when that solidifies, the earth is established'); Ach. Tat. *Isagoga excerpta* 3.28–31 (Maass): Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων τὸ ὕδωρ ὑφίστανται, ὃ δὴ καὶ Χάος καλεῖ ὁ Φερεκύδης ὡς εἰκὸς τοῦτο ἐκλεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου οὕτω λέγοντος "ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετο" ('Thales of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syros establish water as the principle of the whole, which indeed Pherecydes also calls Chaos, as is likely taking this from Hesiod saying thus: "First Chaos came into being"').

abyss, flowing eternally, and it was carried about indiscriminately and melded together at various times into myriad and incomplete combinations, which then on account of this dissolved again from lack of order, gaping open so as not to be bound up for the creation of a living being. Once upon a time it happened that this boundless sea, pushed about by its own proper nature, flowed in a well ordered fashion by a natural motion back again upon itself like a whirlpool and mixed up the substances. And in this way, out of each all these things, that which was the most productive and most conducive to the generation of a living being flowed down through the center of the universe just as through a funnel. This collection of things went down into the depths, moved by the whirlpool that bears everything, and drew into itself the surrounding spirit, and, having been composed so as to be as productive as possible, it produced a separate substance. For just as a bubble tends to come about in moisture, so this spherical vessel was composed from all sides. When this had been conceived in itself, being carried up by the surrounding divine spirit, then emerged into the light the greatest thing ever born, having been conceived from that whole boundless abyss, an ensouled product of conception, a piece of craftsmanship, like an egg in its shape and in swiftness like a bird. And so, think of Kronos as time (Chronos), and Rhea as the flowing (Rheon) of the moist substance, since the entirety of matter, having been carried about over a period of Time, brought forth like an egg the spherical surrounding heaven (Uranos). Heaven at the beginning was full of productive marrow, so as to be able to produce manifold elements and colors, and likewise from a single substance and one color it produced a manifold appearance. For, just as in the begetting of a peacock, the egg seems to have only one color, in potential it has in it all the myriad colors of the animal that is to be, so this ensouled egg, conceived out of boundless matter, moved by the underlying and eternally flowing matter, displays manifold changes. For within the rounded surface a particular living being, is shaped in form both male and female, by the forethought of the divine spirit which is within it. This creature Orpheus calls 'Phanes,' since, when it appeared (Phaneis) the universe shone forth from it, with the shimmer of that most magnificent of the elements, fire, brought forth to perfection in moisture.

καὶ Ὀρφεὺς δὲ τὸ χάος ὠῷ παρεικάζει, ἐν ᾧ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων ἦν ἡ σύγχυσις. τοῦτο Ἡσίοδος χάος ὑποτίθεται, ὅπερ Ὀρφεὺς ὠὸν λέγει γενητόν, ἐξ ἀπείρου τῆς ὕλης προβεβλημένον, γεγονὸς δὲ οὕτω· τῆς τετραγενοῦς ὕλης ἐμψύχου οὔσης καὶ ὅλου ἀπείρου τινὸς βυθοῦ ἀεὶ ῥέοντος καὶ ἀκρίτως φερομένου καὶ

μυρίας ἀτελεῖς κράσεις [εἰς] ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπαναχέοντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὰς ἀναλύοντος τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, καὶ κεχηνότος ὡς εἰς γένεσιν ζῴου δεθῆναι μὴ δυναμένου, συνέβη ποτέ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπείρου πελάγους ὑπὸ ἰδίας φύσεως περιωθουμένου, κινήσει φυσικῇ εὐτάκτως ῥυῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὥσπερ ἴλιγγα καὶ μῖξαι τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν πάντων τὸ νοστιμώτατον, ὅπερ πρὸς γένεσιν ζῴου ἐπιτηδειότατον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώνῃ κατὰ μέσου ῥυῆναι τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πάντα φερούσης ἴλιγγος χωρῆσαι εἰς βάθος καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πνεῦμα ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ ὡς εἰς γονιμώτατον συλληφθὲν ποιεῖν κριτικὴν σύστασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὑγρῷ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι πομφόλυξ, οὕτως σφαιροειδὲς πανταχόθεν συνελήφθη κύτος. ἔπειτα αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κυηθέν, ὑπὸ τοῦ περιειληφότος θειώδους πνεύματος ἀναφερόμενον, προέκυψεν εἰς φῶς μέγιστόν τι τοῦτο ἀποκύημα, ὡς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ ἀπείρου βυθοῦ ἀποκεκυημένον ἔμψυχον δημιούργημα καὶ τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῷ ᾠῷ προσεοικὸς καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς πτήσεως. Κρόνον οὖν τὸν χρόνον μοι νόει, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν τὸ ῥέον τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας, ὅτι χρόνῳ φερομένη ἡ ὕλη ἅπασα ὥσπερ ᾠὸν τὸν πάντα περιέχοντα σφαιροειδῆ ἀπεκύησεν οὐρανόν· ὅπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ γονίμου μυελοῦ πλῆρες ἦν ὡς ἂν στοιχεῖα καὶ χρώματα παν τοδαπὰ ἐκτεκεῖν δυνάμενον, καὶ ὅμως παντοδαπὴν ἐκ μιᾶς οὐσίας τε καὶ χρώματος ἑνὸς ἔφερε τὴν φαντασίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ταὼ γεννήματι ἓν μὲν τοῦ ᾠοῦ χρῶμα δοκεῖ, δυνάμει δὲ μυρία ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος τελεσφορεῖσθαι χρώματα, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀπείρου ὕλης ἀποκυηθὲν ἔμψυχον ᾠὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης καὶ ἀεὶ ῥεούσης ὕλης κινούμενον παντοδαπὰς ἐκφαίνει τροπάς. ἔνδοθεν γὰρ τῆς περιφερείας ζῷόν τι ἀρρενόθηλυ εἰδοποιεῖται προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῷ θείου πνεύματος, ὃν Φάνητα Ὀρφεὺς καλεῖ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ φανέντος τὸ πᾶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔλαμψεν, τῷ φέγγει τοῦ διαπρεπεστάτου τῶν στοιχείων πυρὸς ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ τελεσφορουμένου.

This egg, produced by the flowing (Rhea) over Time (Chronos/Kronos), is the heavens (Uranos), which eventually opens to reveal Phanes, the manifestation of the multiplicity of the cosmos. In this reinterpreted version, the shift to a non-personified material *archê* is complete.

The Derveni Author performs a similar reworking of the Orphic cosmogony in the Derveni Papyrus, insisting that the cosmogonic account actually describes the origin of all things as Air, which, in Anaxagorean fashion, is also Mind (Derveni Papyrus col. 17.1–6):[9]

9 Text and translation of the Derveni Papyrus are cited from the Loeb edition of Laks and Most 2016, which makes use of Piano's latest version of the text. This edition surpasses the *editio princeps* of Kouremenos, Parássoglu, and Tsantsanoglou 2006, as well as the interim texts of Janko 2001. Betegh 2004, 215 comments, "Night too was identified with the supreme air/Mind. She is no more the source of external help, as her advisory, commanding function, so impor-

> … it existed before it was named; and it was named later. For air existed both before the things that are now were assembled, and it will always exist. For it was not born, but it existed. The reason why it was called 'air' (aêr) was made clear in what preceded. But it was thought that it was born, because it was named 'Zeus,' as if it did not exist previously.

Air, he claims, always existed, but at one point it receives the name of Zeus. Orpheus, however, also refers to this Air by the name of Oceanus as well as Zeus. "This verse," he announces, "has been composed in such a way as to be misleading, and it is unclear to the many, but to those who understand correctly it is quite clear that Ocean is the air and that the air is Zeus."[10] The Air has the function of cooling the particles of the material cosmos heated by the fiery sun, so Orpheus also calls it Night, the nurse of all being.[11] The Derveni Author thus manages to transform a cosmogony beginning with Night into one that begins with the material principle of Air, satisfying the question of what substance came first by his appeals to the authority of Orpheus.

Putting a material *archê* first, therefore, is not a late Stoic innovation, but a move made by cosmogonic thinkers at various times to address the question of what substance comes first: what is the *archê* of the cosmos? Some bricoleurs seem to have adapted their sources, simply substituting a material principle for the non-material *archê* at the beginning of the account, but others, including some Orphic cosmogonies completely lost to us, seem to have composed their

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tant in the plot of the poem, is explicitly denied. On the physical level, Night/night is allotted the cosmogonical function of the air, i.e., counterbalancing the heat of the sun and hence allowing the other bits of matter to coagulate."

10 Derveni Papyrus col. 23.1–10: τοῦṭο τὸ ἔπος πạ[ρα]γωγὸν πεπόηται καὶ το[ῖς] ṃὲν πολλọῖς ἄδηλόν ἐστιν, τοῖς δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκουσιν εὔδηλον ὅτι Ὠκεανός ἐστιν ὁ ἀήρ, ἀὴρ δὲ Ζεύς. οὔκουν "ἐμήσατο" τὸν Ζᾶνα ἕτερος Ζεύς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῶι "σθένος μέγα." οἱ δ' οὐ γινώσκοντες ṭọν Ὠκεανὸν ποταμὸν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ὅτι "εὐρὺ ῥέοντα" προσέθηκεν.—ὁ δὲ σημαίνει τὴν αὑτοῦ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς λεγομέν[ο]ις καὶ νομιζομένοις ῥήμασι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀν[θ]ρ̣ώπων τοὺς μέγα δυναṭ[οῦ]ντας "μεγάλους" φασὶ "ῥυ̣ῆναι." ('This verse has been composed in such a way as to be misleading, and it is unclear to the many, but to those who understand correctly it is quite clear that Ocean is the air and that the air is Zeus. It is not the case that one Zeus "devised" another Zeus, but instead the same one [*sc.* devised] for himself "great strength." But those who do not understand think that Ocean is a river because he added "broadly flowing." But he indicates his thought in current and customary expressions. For they say that those who are very powerful among men "have flowed great."')

11 Derveni Papyrus col. 9.11–13: "τροφ[ὸν" δὲ λέγων αὐ]ṭὴ̣ν ạἰ̣ν̣ί[ζε]ṭαι ὅτι [ἅ]σσα ὁ ἥλι̣[ος θερμαίνει καὶ δι]ạλ̣ύει ταῦ̣τα ἡ νὺξ ψύ̣[χουσα] συ[νίστησι … … …] ἅσ̣σ̣α ὁ ἥλι̣ος̣ ἐ̣θ̣έ̣ρ[μαινε. ('And ⟨in calling it [i.e., the night]⟩ "nurse," he shows in a riddling way that everything that the sun ⟨heats and dis⟩solves, the night re⟨unites by cool⟩ing … everything that the sun was heating …').

own cosmogonies with a material *archê*.[12] Of these *archai*, as Aristotle notes, water seems the most popular, and the later elements of the cosmos emerge from the water or the mud that precipitates out of the water in much the same way that later zoogonies portray animals oozing out of the slime. Indeed, so prevalent and popular is this notion that the idea of spontaneous generation from the mud remains accepted in the scientific tradition until well into the eighteenth century.[13]

In these material-principle cosmogonies, other *archai* such as Night or Time are relegated to secondary roles. Night disappears from the genealogy entirely in some of these versions, while in others she represents an insignificant side branch, as in Hesiod, where Night merely produces a brood of monsters, mostly personified abstractions of the evils that plague mankind.[14] Time likewise only appears later in the cosmological order and is often identified (through the wordplay) with the figure of Chronos or allegorically with Heracles. This figure of Time may, in some of these cosmogonies attributed to Orpheus, produce the egg that makes manifest the material world, but the primordial matter itself precedes it in the myth, given priority by the cosmogonic thinker.

3 The Cosmogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies

By contrast, in the cosmogony recounted in the Orphic Rhapsodies, Chronos is the first principle of all things, and matter derives from the egg laid by Time, which splits open to produce the first-born Phanes, who manifests all things (Dam. *Pr.* 123, 316.18–317.4, 318.9–13):

> In the Rhapsodies that are circulated under the name 'Orphic,' the following is the theology concerning the intelligible world, a theology that the philosophers also transmit. The theologians put Time (Chronos) in the place of the unique principle of wholes, whereas Aether and Chaos are the two principles [of limit and unlimited], and the egg is in the place of absolute Being, [all of which] constitute their first triad. In the second triad, the last term is the egg that is conceived and the egg that gives birth to the god, or the gleaming robe, or the cloud, because Phanes leaps forth from these … .

12 Cf. the testimony (OF 108B) of Sextus Empiricus, *P.* 3.30 and *M.* 9.361, as well as Gal. *Phil.Hist.* 18, that Onomacritus in the *Orphica* has fire, water, and earth as *archai*.

13 Arist. *Metaph.* I.iii 983b–984a. Cf. the discussion in Lehoux 2017.

14 See Atkins' discussion of the children of Night in Hesiod, this volume (33–34).

> For the highest principle in that theology was Ageless Time (Chronos), [who is] the father of Aither and Chaos. Without question, according to this theology, too, Time (Chronos) as the serpent begat a triple offspring: Aither, which he calls "watery," and indefinite Chaos, and third after these is misty Erebus.
>
> Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν ταῖς φερομέναις ταύταις ῥαψῳδίαις ὀρφικαῖς ἡ θεολογία δή τίς ἐστιν ἡ περὶ τὸν νοητόν, ἣν καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι διερμνεύουσιν ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς μιᾶς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς τὸν Χρόνον τιθέντες, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῖν δυεῖν Αἰθέρα καὶ Χάος, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄντος ἁπλῶς τὸ ᾠὸν ἀπολογιζόμενοι, καὶ τριάδα ταύτην πρώτην ποιοῦντες· εἰς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν τελεῖν ἤτοι τὸ κυούμενον καὶ τὸ κύον ᾠὸν τὸν θεόν, ἢ τὸν ἀργῆτα χιτῶνα, ἢ τὴν νεφέλην, ὅτι ἐκ τούτων ἐκθρώσκει ὁ Φάνης ... .
>
> Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πολυτίμητος ἐν ἐκείνῃ Χρόνος ἀγήραος καὶ Αἰθέρος καὶ Χάους πατήρ· ἀμέλει καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὁ Χρόνος οὗτος ὁ δράκων γεννᾶται, τριπλήγονον Αἰθέρα φησὶ νοερὸν καὶ Χάος ἄπειρον, καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἔρεβος ὀμιχλῶδες.

Damascius' summary is not the only witness to this sequence, which appears in various quotations of the Rhapsodies in Neoplatonists such as Proclus, and Hermeias, and the story continues after the first stages of Damascius to indicate that Phanes produces Aether, Chaos, and Night.[15] Phanes passes the scepter of cosmic rulership on to Night, who then passes it along to their son, Uranus (Procl. *in Cra.* 396b 105.18–22):

> For Night took it from Phanes, who was willing: he put "his glorious scepter into the hands" of the goddess Night, so that she might have the regal honor. And Uranos received the rulership over the universe from Night, who was willing.
>
> καὶ γὰρ ἡ Νὺξ παρ' ἑκόντος αὐτὸ λαμβάνει τοῦ Φάνητος· "σκῆπτρον δ' ἀριδείκετον εἶο χέρεσσιν" θῆκε θεᾶς Νυκτός, ⟨ἵν' ἔχῃ⟩ βασιληΐδα τιμήν καὶ ὁ Οὐρανὸς παρὰ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἑκούσης ὑποδέχεται τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τῶν ὅλων.

15 Procl. *in R.* 2.138.8 Kroll (v. 1–2); Simp. *In Ph.* 528.14 (v. 3): Αἰθέρα μὲν Χρόνος οὗτος ἀγήραος, ἀφθιτόμητις γείνατο καὶ μέγα Χάσμα πελώριον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, οὐδέ τι πεῖραρ ὑπῆν, οὐ πυθμήν, οὐδέ τις ἕδρα. Cf. Procl. *in Cra.* 59.17 Pasquali: [...] Ὀρφεὺς τὴν πρώτην πάντων αἰτίαν Χρόνον καλεῖ ὁμωνύμως σχεδὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ [...]; Dam. *Pr.* 55 (111.17–18): – ⏑ ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος Αἰθέρι δίῳ ὤεον ἀργύφεον; Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia* 4.7.24–28.

When might such a time cosmogony have been fashioned? The Orphic Rhapsodies to which Damascius and his fellow Neoplatonists refer appear to be a late compilation, stitched together mostly likely in the second or third century CE from Orphic poems of varying dates and origins.[16] The placement of Chronos as the *archê*, however, may well go back to some of the earliest contributions. While some scholars have argued that such an abstraction as a time god must be a later philosophical development, the figure of unaging Time appears in older Near Eastern (and even Indian) cosmogonic myths.[17] Damascius indeed brings in the parallels of the Magi and the Sidonians catalogued in Eudemus, who put Time first in their cosmogonies, and the figure appears in the Greek mythic tradition in the Archaic period (Dam. *Pr.* 125, 322.7–323.2 = Eudem. fr. 150):

> As for the Magi and the entire Iranian race, as Eudemus writes about this, some of them call the intelligible and unified universe Space (Topos), and others call it Time (Chronos), from which are differentiated either a good deity or a bad demon, or light and darkness before these, as some say. And they then themselves posit the twofold differentiated rank of the superiors after the undifferentiated nature, one leader of which is Horomasda, and the other of which is Areimanios. The Sidonians, according to the same author, place Time (Chronos) before all, and Longing and Gloom, and when Longing and Gloom mix as two principles, then Air and Wind are born; Air they reveal as the unmixed principle of the intelligible, and Wind as the living prototype of the intelligible that arises from it, and again the egg from both of these arises as the intelligible intellect, I think.

> Μάγοι δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρειον γένος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γράφει ὁ Εὔδημος, οἱ μὲν Τόπον, οἱ δὲ Χρόνον καλοῦσι τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ ἡνωμένον, ἐξ οὗ διακριθῆναι ἢ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακόν, ἢ φῶς καὶ σκότος πρὸ τούτων, ὡς ἐνίους λέγειν. Οὗτοι δὲ οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν διακρινομένην ποιοῦσι τὴν διττὴν συστοιχίαν τῶν κρειττόνων, τῆς μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ὡρομάσδη, τῆς δὲ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον. Σιδώνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν συγγραφέα πρὸ πάντων Χρόνον. ὑποτίθενται καὶ Πόθον καὶ Ὀμίχλην, Πόθου δὲ καὶ Ὁμίχλης μιγέντων ὡς δυεῖν ἀρχῶν Ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ Αὔραν, Ἀέρα μὲν ἄκρατον τοῦ νοητοῦ παραδηλοῦντες, Αὔραν

16 Compare the discussions of dates in Brisson 1995, 2886; West 1983, 247–251; Bernabé and Casadesús 2008, 310–312; Edmonds 2013, 44–45.

17 West 1983, López-Ruiz 2010, and Meisner 2018 all point to the earlier parallels, although West sees the adaptation as later. Brisson 1995 and 1997 argues it could only have come with the spread of Mithraism in the Imperial period.

δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινούμενον τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωτικὸν προτύπωμα. Πάλιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοῖν Ὦτον γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νοῦν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητόν.

Pherecydes, who has Chronos later generate material substances, may be the earliest witness, although the varying spellings of Chronos with a *chi* (χρόνος/Χρόνος) and Kronos with a *kappa* (Κρόνος) have caused some scholars to doubt. The play with the spelling (and sound) appears as early as Pindar, however, and sources such as the Aristotelian *On the World* simply blur the two.[18] Chronos as a god of time, however, appears in Archaic lyric poetry such as Pindar and Bacchylides, and tragedians such as Euripides show that the idea of a cosmic time god is hardly a late philosophic abstraction, but a regular part of the mythic bricoleur's toolkit by this period.[19] Time produces Night and Day, the most obvious markers of the passage of Time, but while Night may be the daughter of Time, she is also the mother of the next Day, who in turn gives birth to the following Night—a paradox not only articulated in the peculiar marital relations within the cosmogonic myth but even in later Greek riddles.[20]

This paradox of Time at the origin has led some scholars, ancient and modern, to try to reinterpret the evidence to explain away an *archê* of Time and put some other *archê* in its place. Bernabé fuses the evidence for the water and earth at the beginning of the Hieronyman cosmogony with the evidence for the Rhapsodies to make a single sequence in his postulated 'cosmic egg cosmogony.' Like West, he posits some vague primordial material not mentioned in the evidence as preceding Chronos in the Rhapsodies.[21] In antiquity, Aristotle refuses to admit Time as one of his four causes, so he does not discuss time cosmogonies in his treatment of other first principles. Plutarch, however, takes time as a kind of motion and therefore what Aristotle should consider an

18 D.L. 1.119 (fr. 14 Schibli = DK 7, A1, B1); Dam. *Pr.* 124b (1 321 R. = Eudem. fr. 117 = fr. 60 Schibli = DK 7, A8); Probus *ad Verg. Buc.* 6.31 (fr. 65 Schibli = DK 7, A9); Hermias, *Irrisio gentilium philosophorum* 12 (*Dox. Graec.* 654.7–10, fr. 66 Schibli = DK 7, A9). Cf. Pi. *O.* 10.50–55; [Arist.] *Mu.* 7 (401a).

19 Pi. *O.* 2.19; Pi. fr. 159 = D.H. *Orat.Vett.* 2.1.4; Pi. fr. 33 = Plu. *Plat. Quaest.* 8.4.3, 1007b; B. 7 (35); E. *Pirith.* fr. 3 (fr. 594N^2 = Critias fr. 3 = Clem.Al. *Strom.* 5.6.36 and Schol. Ar. *Av.* 179); E. *Pirith.* fr. 4 (fr. 593N^2 = Critias fr. 4 = Clem.Al. *Strom.* 5.14.114).

20 *AP* 14.40, 41 = Theodect. 72 F4.

21 Bernabé sees thick darkness as a material substance from which things are formed, but Proclus' discussion (Procl. *in Ti.* 1. 385.17–386.8 ≈ OF 111 + 105) associates the darkness with Chaos, which is secondary to Time, thus making Night the daughter of Time in the Rhapsodies, not antecedent. Bernabé compares the beginning of the Rhapsodic cosmology to that of Ovid *Metamorphoses* (Bernabé and Casadesús 2008, 312, n. 101).

efficient cause, a principle that is the power that causes the world to go into motion (Plu. *Plat. Quaest.* VIII.4, Loeb trans.):

> For time is not an attribute or accident of any chance motion but cause and potency and principle of that which holds together all the things that come to be, of the symmetry and order in which the nature of the whole universe, being animate, is in motion.
>
> οὐ γὰρ πάθος οὐδὲ συμβεβηκὸς ἧς ἔτυχε κινήσεως ὁ χρόνος ἐστίν, αἰτία δὲ καὶ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς πάντα συνεχούσης τὰ γιγνόμενα συμμετρίας καὶ τάξεως, ἣν ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις ἔμψυχος οὖσα κινεῖται.

The so-called Pre-Socratic philosophers make use of time in various ways in their cosmologies—as duration, as succession, as framework, etc.—even if none seem to include it as the *archê*, the first principle.[22] The Derveni cosmogony likewise shows no trace of Chronos as the most primordial figure; even the Derveni Author only brings time in as a duration that contrasts with space. In one of his more striking allegorical interpretations, he insists that, when Orpheus says Olympos, he really means time, which is long, in contrast to the heaven, which is broad like space.[23]

The cosmogony Damascius reports from what he calls the standard account of the Orphic Rhapsodies thus stands out from other Orphic cosmogonies in its placement of time as the *archê*, an idea that picks up on the early Near East-

22 Bernabé 1990 provides a good survey of the way time appears in these sources, distinguishing six categories and two modes.

23 Derveni Papyrus col. 12.3–10: Ὄλυμπ[ος καὶ χ]ρ̣όνος τὸ αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ δοκοῦντες Ὄλυμπ̣[ον καὶ] ο̣ὐρανὸν [τ]αὐτὸ εἶναι ἐξαματάν[ουσ]ι̣[ν οὐ γ]ινώσκοντ̣ε̣ς ὅτι οὐρανὸν οὐχ οἷόν τ̣ε̣ μακ[ρό]τ̣ερον ἢ εὐρύτε[ρο]ν εἶναι, χρόνον δὲ μακρὸν εἴ τις [ὀνομ]άζο[ι] ο̣ὐ̣κ ἂ[ν ἐξα]μαρτάνοι· ὁ δὲ ὅπου μὲν οὐρανὸν θέ̣[λοι λέγειν, τὴμ] προσθήκεν εὐρὺν ἐποιε̣ῖτο, ὅπο̣υ̣ [δὲ Ὄλυμπον, το]ὐ̣ν̣α̣ν̣τίον, εὐρὺμ μὲν οὐδέποτε, μα[κρὸν δέ.] (‘Olympus and time are the same. Those who think that Olympus and the heaven are the same are entirely mistaken, for they do not know that the heaven cannot be longer rather than wider; but if someone were to call time long, he would not be wrong at all. And whenever he (sc. Orpheus) wanted to speak about heaven, he added the epithet “wide,” whereas whenever (he wanted to talk) about Olympus, on the contrary, he never (added the epithet) “wide,” but “long”’). Tortorelli Ghidini 1991, 256, comments, “Tale argomentazione si inserisce, probabilmente, in un tipo di speculazione cosmologica che designa ὄλυμπος e οὐρανός come parti distinte del cielo, ma l’identificazione con χρόνος sposta la riflessione all’interno di un pensiero teologico in cui il tempo occupa un ruolo dominante.” As Bernabé 2013, 14 concludes, “The commentator’s effort to include time in the cosmogony seems to indicate that, differently from later Orphic theogonies, Time did not appear as a separate entity in the poem.” See also Piano 2013.

ern time cosmogonies. As in the cosmogony of Pherecydes, primordial Chronos generates the material of the universe, rather than the other way around. Cosmogonies like that attested from Hieronymus get matter in place first and then subject it to the motions of time, rather as Plato does in his cosmology in the *Timaeus*, where time appears as the motions of cosmos, producing night and day, months and years.[24] In both kinds of cosmogony, then, Night becomes an agent of Time, alternating with Day to mark the temporal motion of the cosmos, and this subordinate status is marked by the genealogy that makes Night the daughter of Time. In time cosmogonies, Time is the one who produces the cosmic egg or the first-born creature, Phanes, that is the original manifestation of things beyond the indistinct beginning. In other cosmogonies, however, this productive role is taken by Night herself.

4 The Derveni Cosmogony and Other Cosmogonies Beginning with Night

All that Damascius relates of the Orphic cosmogony recorded by Eudemus is that it begins with Night, but he notes that this Orphic account agrees with others, including Homer, in putting Night as the *archê* (Dam. *Pr.* 124, 319.7–15):[25]

> The theology that is recorded with the Peripatetic Eudemus as being by Orpheus is silent about the entire intelligible world, since it is completely ineffable and unknowable by means of discursive thinking or through sacred narrative. Eudemus begins with the principle of Night, from which Homer too begins, even if [Homer] has not written a continuous genealogy. One must not agree when Eudemus says that Homer makes everything begin from Okeanos and from Tethys. For Homer clearly knew that Night was the greatest god, since Zeus himself feels reverence for her: "For he feared lest he accomplish things distasteful to the feelings of swift Night." But Homer himself must start from Night.
>
> Ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῷ περιπατητικῷ Εὐδήμῳ ἀναγεγραμμένη ὡς τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὖσα θεολογία πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν ἐσιώπησεν, ὡς παντάπασιν ἄρρητόν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον τρόπῳ κατὰ διέξοδόν τε καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν

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24 Pl. *Ti.* 37de. See Joosse in this volume (95).

25 Despite West's virtuosic reconstruction of the Eudemian theogony, the evidence of Damascius does not permit us to draw any further conclusions about the Orphic text Eudemus was recording. Cf. the review in Brisson 1985 of West 1983.

> ἀρχήν, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνεχῆ πεποίηται τὴν γενεαλογίαν, ἵστησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδεκτέον Εὐδήμου λέγοντος ὅτι ἀπὸ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἄρχεται· φαίνεται γὰρ εἰδὼς καὶ τὴν Νύκτα μεγίστην οὕτω θεόν. ὡς καὶ τὸν Δία σέβεσθαι αὐτήν· "ἄζετο γὰρ μὴ Νυκτὶ θοῇ ἀποθύμια ῥέζοι." Ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρχέσθω ἀπὸ Νυκτός.

The earliest witness to an Orphic cosmogony, the Derveni Papyrus, seems also to put Night first, with no place for Chronos or Chaos, nor even (despite the best efforts of the Derveni Author) material *archai* before it. Night appears as the sole parent of Uranus, the first to leap forth into the aether, so the first-born of Night, Protogonos, is venerable Uranus, the bright Heaven.[26] Night sits in her innermost shrine, the adyton which the Derveni Author identifies as the depths of Night, and gives forth her oracles, including the crucial advice to Zeus to swallow the venerable Protogonos in order to give birth anew to the whole cosmos and make himself in effect the new *archê*.[27]

Although scholars who postulate an evolution of philosophical thought from personified myth to abstract concepts have argued that Night as the *archê* must be late, the idea that darkness personified or some indistinctness lies at the beginning of the cosmos appears throughout the evidence for cosmogonies.[28] Epimenides, as Philodemus tells us, puts Night and Air first, and Damascius (reporting from Eudemus) notes that the cosmic egg comes from their offspring. Philodemus also reports that Night and Tartarus are a common starting point, specifically mentioning Musaeus as a cosmogonist who puts Night

26 Derveni Papyrus col. 14.6: Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρώτιστο̣ς βασίλευσεν; 13.4 ὃς αἰθέρα ἔκθορ̣ε πρῶτος. Scholars such as Bernabé 2002, Betegh 2004, and West 1983, who understand the word αἰδοῖον as meaning 'phallus' in the Orphic poem, suggest taking ἔκθορ̣ε as 'ejaculated.' Santamaría 2016, however, has convincingly explained how the Derveni author is allegorically interpreting Protogonos' epithet of αἰδοῖον as a reference to his procreative powers; such a reading also makes it more plausible to take ἔκθορ̣ε in its usual sense of 'leap forth.' Brisson 2003 argues that αἰδοῖον is an adjective describing Protogonos, an earlier deity born from the cosmic egg, as in the Rhapsodic version, but I see no trace either of the Rhapsodic Phanes or the egg in the Derveni cosmogony. Ferrari 2013, 59 agrees that Uranus must be Protogonos, generated by Night alone without another parent.

27 Derveni Papyrus col. 11.1–11. See the study by Piano 2010.

28 Cf. Betegh 2004, 167–168: "It must be noted that the Presocratic cosmogonies can also be grouped according to this opposition. Most of them posit an original state of indistinctness out of which the world arises through successive steps of differentiation, while some other cosmogonies—such as the one in Parmenides' *doxa*—posit an original pair of opposites." *Contra* Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983, 20: "there seems little indication so far that the idea of an absolute priority of Night occurred early enough, or in a sufficiently independent form, to have had much effect on quasi-scientific cosmogonical thought."

first, but he also lumps together those like Acusilaus who put indistinct Chaos first. Damascius relates that Acusilaus starts with Chaos together with Night and Erebus, the female and male principles of shadowy darkness.[29] Hesiod too has Chaos produce Night and Erebus, who give birth to the bright principles of Aether and Day (even if Hesiod's main narrative then follows the children of Earth, *Th.* 116–125; Loeb trans.):

> In truth, first of all Chasm came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth, the ever immovable seat of all the immortals who possess snowy Olympus' peak and murky Tartarus in the depths of the broad-pathed earth, and Eros, who is the most beautiful among the immortal gods, the limb-melter—he overpowers the mind and the thoughtful counsel of all the gods and of all human beings in their breasts. From Chasm, Erebus and black Night came to be; and then Aither and Day came forth from Night, who conceived and bore them after mingling in love with Erebus.

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29 Phld. *Piet.* 47a = 3 DK, B5: ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰς Ἐπιμενίδην ἐξ Ἀέρος καὶ Νυκτὸς τὰ πάντα συστῆναι ('in the verses ascribed to Epimenides all things are composed from Air and Night'). See Dam. *Pr.* 123, 320.17–321.2: Τὸν δὲ Ἐπιμενίδην δύο πρώτας ἀρχὰς ὑποθέσθαι, Ἀέρα καὶ Νύκτα, δηλονότι σιγῇ τιμήσαντα τὴν μίαν πρὸ τῶν δυεῖν, ἐξ ὧν γεννηθῆναι Τάρταρον οἶμαι τὴν τρίτην ἀρχήν, ὥς τινα μικτὴν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν συγκραθεῖσαν·ἐξ ὧν δύο τινὰς τὴν νοητὴν μεσότητα οὕτω καλέσαντα, διότι ἐπ' ἄμφω διατείνει τό τε ἄκρον καὶ τὸ πέρας, ὧν μιχθέντων ἀλλήλοις ᾠὸν γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ νοητὸν ζῷον ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐξ οὗ πάλιν ἄλλην γενεὰν προελθεῖν. ('Epimenides posits two first principles, Air and Night, and obviously reverts to the first before the two principles by means of silence. From these two arise Tartarus as, I think, the third principle, as mixed from the two. And from these are the two Titans (things—*tinas*), which is how he refers to the intelligible intermediate, because he extends the summit and the limit to both, which when they mix with each other become an egg, the true intelligible living being, from which again another race arises'). Cf. Phld. *Piet.* 137.3–5, pp. 61–62 Gomperz: ἐν μέν | [τισι]ν ἐκ Νυκτὸς καὶ | [Ταρ]τάρου λέγεται | [τὰ π]άντα, ἐν δέ τι|[σιν ἐ]ξ Ἅιδου καὶ Αἰ|[θέρ]ος· ὁ δὲ τὴν Τι|[τανο]μαχίαν γρά|[ψας ἐξ] Αἰθέρος φη|[σίν], Ἀκουσίλαος | [δ' ἐκ] Χάους πρώτου | [τἄλ]λα· ἐν δὲ τοῖς | [ἀνα]φερομένοις εἰς | [Μο]υσαῖον γέγραπται | [Τάρτ]αρον πρῶτον | [καὶ Ν]ύκτα. ('Among some it is said that all things come from Night and Tartarus, among some from Hades and Aether. The author of the *War of the Titans* says [*sc.* that they came from] Aether, Acusilaus [*sc.* says that] all other things [*sc.* came] first from Chaos. In the writings attributed to Musaeus it is written that Tartarus and Night were the first'); Dam. *Pr.* 123, 320.10–13: Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ Χάος μὲν ὑποτίθεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν, ὡς πάντῃ ἄγνωστον, τὰς δὲ δύο μετὰ τὴν μίαν, Ἔρεβος μὲν τὴν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν Νύκτα, ταύτην μὲν ἀντὶ ἀπειρίας, ἐκείνην δὲ ἀντὶ πέρατος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων φησὶ μιχθέντων Αἰθέρα γενέσθαι καὶ Ἔρωτα καὶ Μῆτιν. ('Acusilaus seems to me to have Chaos as the first principle, since it is unknowable in every way, and the two after the one are Erebus, the male, and the female Night, with Night in the place of indefiniteness, and Erebus in the place of limit. And from the union of these, he says that Aether, Eros, and Metis were born').

ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ᾽· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ᾽ εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου
Τάρταρά τ᾽ ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
ἠδ᾽ Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.
ἐκ Χάεος δ᾽ Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο·
Νυκτὸς δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο,
οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

Aristophanes clearly expects his fifth-century Athenian audience to be familiar with all these mythic elements when he produces the parodic cosmogony of the *Birds*, which starts with the indistinct forces of Chaos, Night, and Erebus before the material principles of earth, air, and heaven. For the birds, of course, it is the cosmic egg that is important, and the wind-egg that Night lays hatches forth winged Eros, who produces the race of the birds before all the other gods (Ar. *Av*. 693–702, Loeb trans.):[30]

> In the beginning were Chaos and Night and black Erebus and broad Tartarus, and no Earth, Air, or Sky. And in the boundless bosom of Erebus did black-winged Night at the very start bring forth a wind-egg, from which as the seasons revolved came forth Eros the seductive, like to swift whirlwinds, his back aglitter with wings of gold. And mating by night with winged Chaos in broad Tartarus, he hatched our own race and first brought it up to daylight. There was no race of immortal gods before Eros commingled everything; then as this commingled with that, Sky came to be, and Ocean and Earth, and the whole imperishable race of blessed gods.

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30 Aristophanes is often assumed to be drawing the egg from Orphic cosmogonies, but Epimenides may be the more direct reference, since it is unclear when the egg appears in Orphic texts. It is not in the Derveni theogony, nor are there any references to an egg in the earliest evidence (Plato). An egg appears in the Hieronyman Orphic theogony, however, so it must have appeared before the third-century Peripatetic, if not before the fifth-century Hellanicus. By contrast Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983 reject the possibility: "One reason for doubting an early Orphic use of the egg-motif may be that, if there were any such use, one would expect later applications to be consistent with an earlier tradition, which in a sacred-book sect would tend to be regarded as sacrosanct" (28).

Χάος ἦν καὶ Νὺξ Ἔρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ Τάρταρος εὐρύς·
Γῆ δ' οὐδ' Ἀὴρ οὐδ' Οὐρανὸς ἦν· Ἐρέβους δ' ἐν ἀπείροσι κόλποις
τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νὺξ ἡ μελανόπτερος ᾠόν,
ἐξ οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλαστεν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός,
στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν, εἰκὼς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις.
οὗτος δὲ Χάει πτερόεντι μιγεὶς νύχιος κατὰ Τάρταρον εὐρὺν
ἐνεόττευσεν γένος ἡμέτερον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνήγαγεν εἰς φῶς.
πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν Ἔρως ξυνέμειξεν ἅπαντα·
ξυμμειγνυμένων δ' ἑτέρων ἑτέροις γένετ' Οὐρανὸς Ὠκεανός τε
καὶ Γῆ πάντων τε θεῶν μακάρων γένος ἄφθιτον.

Again, scholars ancient and modern have resisted the idea of Night as an *archê*.[31] Aristotle complains that starting with Night or an indistinct everything together is impossible, since there is no efficient cause to explain the start of motion. He sees Hesiod's addition of Eros to Chaos and Night as providing the efficient cause that moves and combines things, and he likewise credits this move to Parmenides.[32] The nature of Parmenides' *archê* is problematic, but, as Burkert and others have noted, the proemium which describes a journey to the gates of Night where the goddess provides revelation suggests a vision of the cosmos in which Night is primary, like the oracle of Night that appears in the Derveni cosmogony.[33] No doubt following Aristotle's lead as well as Hippias' classifications, Eudemus takes Homer to put the material principle of water first, but Damascius points out the evidence that suggests Homer's first principle was Night. In the same way, as we have seen, the Derveni Author substitutes Air for the *archê* of Night that appears in his text.

31 Bernabé 2013, 8 postulates that, as in the later Rhapsodic Theogony, Night in the Derveni cosmogony must be a material substance.

32 Arist. *Metaph.* XII.vi 1071b; I.iv 984b.

33 Parm. fr. 1 = S.E. *M.* 7.111. Cf. Burkert 1969, 17: "Als ein anderes, noch berühmteres Konkurrenzunternehmen zu Hesiod kannte Aristoteles eine Theogonie des 'Orpheus'; er nannte Kerkops, einen Nebenbuhler des Hesiod, als Verfasser. In ihr stand am Anfang Nyx, wie Aristoteles selbst und Eudem bezeugen. Uns ist die orphische Theogonie im wesentlichen in einer späteren, den Neuplatonikern vorliegenden Redaktion bekannt, in der Chronos an den Anfang gerückt war. Doch auch in ihr noch spielt Nyx eine besondere Rolle, und man kann vermuten, daß darin Altes bewahrt ist. Von der Höhle der Nacht ist die Rede, ἄντρον Νυκτός; am Eingang hält Adrasteia Wache—auch hier Türhüterin und Göttin getrennt—; in diese Höhle der Nyx aber begab sich Zeus, als er die Welt gestaltete, um sich Orakelweisungen für dieses Werk zu holen. Der Herrscher der Welt kehrt ein in der Höhle der Urmutter, um sich die Weisheit zu holen, die er für sein Herrscheramt braucht. Die Ähnlichkeit zu Minos-Epimenides, aber auch zu Parmenides liegt auf der Hand."

This unease with indistinct darkness at the beginning reflects the insoluble aporia of such a principle, but the problem remains a live philosophical issue despite Aristotle's attempts to banish it. Plutarch recounts how the question of which came first, the chicken or the egg, continues to give thinkers trouble, defying resolution. One of the disputants refers to an Orphic cosmogony that puts the egg as the first thing to appear, but the point merely raises the question of what generated this first manifesting egg.[34] In the cosmogonies that begin with Night, the indistinct darkness of the *archê* thus calls attention to the first manifestation of something distinct, whether it is an egg as in Epimenides (and Aristophanes) or whether it is the leaping forth of Uranus, the first-born of Night in the Derveni cosmogony. This importance of Uranus as the first manifestation after the indistinct *archê* of Night helps to explain why Zeus' swallowing of the god (like Zeus' swallowing of Phanes Protogonos in the Rhapsodies) is tantamount to his reabsorbing the entirety of the cosmos to bring it back into appearance, an act which makes Zeus equivalent to the *archê* that first generated the first manifesting god.

5 Conclusions

The primacy of Night, therefore, is not without value in the cosmogony. The choice of what kind of *archê* to put at the beginning of a cosmogonic account is a meaningful and evaluative act of bricolage by the cosmogonic thinker, who selects the piece from the mythic tradition that best fits his ideas of what question is most important for thinking about the origins of the cosmos. The state of our evidence does not permit us to do the kind of analysis of the Orphic cosmogonies that we can do for complete texts like Hesiod's *Theogony*, where we can see the way that his peculiar choice of Earth as *archê* plays out in the succeeding story and how the principles of Chaos, Eros, and Night are sidelined.[35] We can nevertheless get a better picture of the ways in which the different Orphicists thought about the cosmos by paying attention to their individual acts of bricolage rather than attempting to put them all into a simplified syn-

34 Plu. *Quaest. Conviv.* II.3, 636a, d.

35 Cf. Clay 2003. Only an understanding of the text in its performance context(s) can help understand the meaning of the choices. As Burkert 1999, 101 comments, "So what finally is the message contained in cosmogonic myth? What is the *raison d'être* of this strange assemblage of motifs and micro-myths along the thread of a comprehensive just-so tale? It is difficult to say what the *Sitz im Leben* of Hesiod's *Theogony* was; the question is no more simple for, say, the book of Anaximander."

thesis, whether the modern reconstructions of Bernabé or West or the ancient schemas of Aristotle and Damascius. The choice of Night or some indistinct shadowy darkness or empty Chasm shifts the attention to the entity that first appears from the darkness, the first-born of Night, whether that appears as starry Uranus or an egg that hatches a glittering winged Eros. The choice of a personification of abstract Time, by contrast, focuses attention upon the sequence of Night and Day and all the other motions of the cosmos that embody its temporal order. Both of these choices by the bricoleur differ from putting some material element as the *archê*, which makes the underlying substance of the cosmos the most important consideration.

Despite Damascius' confidence that all the cosmologies he relates point to the same Neoplatonic schema, each cosmologist—whether an Orphicist composing a new theogony under the name of Orpheus or some other thinker using his own name—provides a different perspective. In the same way, each of the so-called Pre-Socratic thinkers has a different perspective on the origins of the cosmos, from Thales' material principle of Water, to Anaximander's Undefined, to Anaxagoras' Mind.[36] Although Aristotle tries to fit them all into an evolution of thought (that, naturally, leads to him), thinkers at different times make different choices for the *archê*. Some, like the Derveni Author, try to impose their own set of priorities on another's cosmogony, especially those who reinterpret cosmogonies with Night or Time as the *archê* as Material ones, while others, like Damascius, try to reduce them all to a single story.

Throughout the history of cosmological thought, not just from Thales to Aristotle or even Damascius, but both before and after—all the way up to the quantum physicists of today—, the same kinds of questions recur: what thing is the fundamental nature of the universe? when do things first come into existence? how do things come to be? These questions are ultimately as unresolvable as the chicken and the egg, despite the attempts of thinkers, ancient and modern, to simplify them away. The choice of *archê* shows which question each thinker prioritizes, whether the myth depicts the emergence of matter oozing from the slime of primordial water or the regular motions of Time or the firstborn of Night dawning from the darkness.

36 On the relations of the ideas in the Orphic cosmogonies to Presocratic cosmologies, see above all Betegh 2004, but also Finkelberg 1986, Domínguez 2010, and McKirahan 2012, as well as Janko 1997 and Janko 2001.

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PART 2

Nocturnal Knowledge: Medicine, Philosophy, Religion, Astronomy

CHAPTER 3

Night as Diagnostic Marker in Hippocratic Medicine

Ralph M. Rosen

1 Introduction

If mythology is any indication, the Greek attitude towards night was fraught with unrelenting apprehension and fear. The entire lineage of the goddess Nyx—the mythological figure for 'night'—and her many allegorical offspring, suggests that, with little exception, nothing good can ever come from her. Among her children (born without the need of any father) we find such ominous figures as Death, Blame, Pain, Nemesis, Old Age, Deceit and Strife; indeed, the Fates (*Moirai*) themselves are apparently sprung from the night.[1] The earliest reference to Night's genealogy is found in Hesiod, at *Theogony* 211–225, which sets the tone with its opening lines: 'Night bore hateful Doom and black Destruction [*Ker*] and Death' (Νὺξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν / καὶ Θάνατον ...).[2] Elsewhere, in *Works and Days*, Hesiod links the destructive Ker, one of the daughters of Night, specifically with disease (νόσος), in describing the damage Pandora had done when she opened the jar of evils (*Op.* 90). Before this fateful event, he notes, humans lived free from the 'distressful **diseases**, which bring **destruction** to men' (**νούσων** τ' ἀργαλέων αἵ τ' ἀνδράσι **κῆρας** ἔδωκαν, 91). Disease has in this passage unspecified atmospheric associations with Night through the genealogy of Ker, but it is not itself marked here as a nocturnal phenomenon. Ten lines later, however, in his narrative of the woes Pandora unleashed on the world, Hesiod distinguishes between specifically daytime and nocturnal diseases: 'sicknesses visit humans **by day**, and others **at night**, all on their own, bringing bad things to mortals, silently, since Zeus the counselor took away their voice' (νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν **ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ**, αἱ δ' **ἐπὶ νυκτὶ** / αὐτόμαται φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι / σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς, 102–104).

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1 For the genealogy (and iconography) of Nyx, see *RE* 17, 1663–1672; Ramnoux 1959, 62–107, with tables 1–3; Papastravrou 1992 *LIMC* 6.1, 939–941; Gantz 1993, 3–5.

2 See Atkins in this volume (23–45), for a more expansive discussion of night in Hesiod. See also Edmonds in this volume (46–69).

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Hesiod offers no further detail on this distinction, but the sharp polarity he delineates here between daytime and nighttime diseases anticipates the Hippocratic insight, beginning in the fifth century BCE, that it was valuable to understand the different ways in which pathologies affected the body at different times of day. In a post-Pandoran era, as Hesiod imagines it, Zeus has 'removed the voice' (φωνὴν ἐξείλετο, *Op*. 104) of these diseases, so they remain inscrutable to human understanding, unable to tell us what (or why) they are. It is this 'voicelessness' to which Hippocratic doctors responded, by working to develop a τέχνη to interpret the *signs* of disease, and so to infer its natural causes. Hesiod's division of diseases into daytime and nighttime varieties was an early step, then, in organizing and taxonomizing such signs—in his case, beginning from the observation that illnesses could affect people differently at different times of day.[3]

Hesiod's early intuition that time-of-day made a difference to the experience and progression of illness developed into a valuable systematic tool for diagnosis in the Hippocratic writers, as we will explore in this chapter. While the Hippocratic writers had no interest in allegorizing disease, as Hesiod did, across many of the Hippocratic treatises we find authors isolating night as a time when specific symptoms of an illness, or critical moments in its progress, occur. As we shall see, these nocturnal junctures are almost universally associated with a sinister turn in a disease; positive turns at night are mentioned only in relation to earlier nights which went very badly for the patient.[4] Overall, then, sick patients are almost always worse off during the night in Hippocratic narratives, and distinct clinical patterns emerge which became part of the Hippocratic toolkit for categorizing diseases and prognosticating their outcomes.

2 Normal Sleep

It will be useful to begin our examination of these accounts of nocturnal pathologies by noting a Hippocratic baseline of physiological 'normality.' A passage from *Prognostic* suggests that ideally sick patients should pass a diurnal cycle in a 'normal' way, i.e., as they would if healthy and able to act 'in accordance with nature' (*Prognostic* 10, Jouanna 2013):[5]

3 Hesiod, evidently speaking more impressionistically than scientifically, seems to imagine *different* diseases for day and night (αἱ δ', etc.). Hippocratic writers for the most part noticed that instances of a *single* disease might affect people differently during day and night.

4 See below, e.g., pp. 77–78.

5 See Hulskamp 2008, 74. Although Hp. *Prog.* suggests a general Hippocratic notion of a nat-

> As for sleep, the patient ought to follow **the natural custom** of being awake during the day and asleep during the night. Should this be changed **things grow worse**. Least harm will result if the patient sleep from early morning to the third part of the day. Those who sleep after this time are worse off. The worst thing is not to sleep either during the day or during the night. For either it will be pain and distress that cause the sleeplessness or he will become delirious from this symptom [i.e., sleeplessness].
>
> trans. JONES 1923a, modified to align with Jouanna's text

> Περὶ δε ὕπνων, ὥσπερ **κατὰ φύσιν ἡμῖν σύνηθές** ἡμῖν ἐστι, τὴν μὲν ἡμέρην ἐγρηγορέναι χρή, τὴν δὲ νύκτα καθεύδειν. εἰ δὲ εἴη τοῦτο μεταβεβλημένον, **κάκιον γίνεται**· ἥκιστα δ' ἂν λυπέοιτο, εἰ κοιμῷτο τὸ πρωὶ ἐς τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρης· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τουτέου τοῦ χρόνου ὕπνοι πονηρότεροί εἰσιν. κάκιστον δὲ μὴ κοιμᾶσθαι, μήτε τῆς νυκτός μήτε τῆς ἡμέρης· ἢ γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδύνης τε καὶ πόνων ἀγρυπνοίη ἂν ἢ παραφρονήσει ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ σημείου.

Under normal circumstances, then, the body is supposed to be awake during the day, and asleep at night. Sleeping during the day or wakefulness at night is not good, but complete sleeplessness at any time is the worst, resulting, as the final sentence (rather clumsily) notes, in delirium (παραφρονήσει).[6] The author considers nocturnal delirium a symptom (σημεῖον) of sleeplessness, which is itself induced by the pain and discomfort of fever, though elsewhere, as in *Epidemics*, sleeplessness itself is construed as a symptom of high fever.[7] In any case the ability to live according to an ongoing alternation of

ural awake-sleep cycle, some doctors had specific recommendations to adjust according to seasons. Hulskamp (2008, 75) notes *Reg*. 1.35 (156,14–15 Joly-Byl; 6.522 L.), where the author recommends augmenting the natural awake-sleep cycle with afternoon naps, to keep the body from drying out. In *Reg*. 3.68 (200,16–22 Joly-Byl; 6.604 L.), after the fall equinox, the author recommends gradually moving into a winter regimen, which recommends against sleeping during the day, and in general ensuring that the body not get too moist (since winter is a wetter season than summer). It is worth noting that the question of what constitutes 'normal' human sleep remains far from settled among scientists today. See, e.g., Rama, Sho, and Kushida 2006 and Frank 2006.

6 On the text here see Jouanna 2013, 27, n. 3. παραφροσύνη is a possible reading; Jouanna prints the earliest ms. reading, παραφρονήσει. As Ferriss-Hill shows in this volume (308–334) in her study of the Roman satirist Persius, the Hippocratic notion that abnormal sleep can lead to forms of madness could be exploited by later authors for specifically literary purposes.

7 E.g., *Epid*. 1.7, 1.18, 1.ε′ and *Coan Prenotions*, e.g., (among many) 20, 24, 36, 41, 80, 86, 88, 109. See also Byl 1998, and Marelli 1983.

day/night, awake/asleep is regarded as essential to health.[8] Diseases can disrupt this pattern because, in Hippocratic terms, they change aspects of the body's physiological equilibrium—the relationship between the humors, for example, or fluctuations in body temperatures—and doctors came to understand that since the body behaved differently at night it was important to take note of the course of a disease as a function of 'time-of-day.' Many Hippocratic authors, as we shall see, also felt that trying to explain *why* diseases behaved differently at night would also be useful for diagnosis and treatment.

3 Diseased Sleep

We will return to Hippocratic theorizing about nocturnal physiology below, but it will be useful first to look at how they approach the night clinically. As we might expect, a great cluster of the Hippocratic references to night in diagnostic contexts occurs in the seven treatises of *Epidemics*, which offer a stylistically and thematically diverse collection of what we would call epidemiological observations[9]—i.e., how diseases affect specific communities and geographical regions—and individual case-studies. Unlike many other works in the Hippocratic Corpus, *Epidemics* keeps its theorizing to a minimum, and tends to show more practical and clinical concerns. Some of the books consist largely of observation and cataloguing of symptoms, along with information about a patient's circumstances, and in some cases personal history. The majority of the cases involve what we would call infectious diseases, which is to say, diseases caused by invasive microbes to which the body responds with fever.

Of the many cases that include references to the night as part of their narratives, the case of Philiscus in *Epidemics* 1 is typical. This is the first of fourteen detailed case-studies that follow an earlier section on different environmental 'constitutions' (καταστάσεις) mostly on Thasos (*Epid.* 1, case 1; Jones 1923a, 187):

> Philiscus lived by the wall. He took to his bed with acute fever on the first day and sweating; **night uncomfortable**.
>
> *Second day*. General exacerbation, later a small clyster moved the bowels well. **A restful night.**

8 See Joosse in this volume (98–100) for a discussion of the philosophical (especially ethical) implications of a normal cycle of wakefulness and sleep.

9 For discussion of the title, see Craik 2015, 63–64. It is unclear if the traditional title of these books, *Epidemics*, refers to our own notion of 'epidemiology,' i.e., the study of how certain

Third day. Early and until mid-day he appeared to have lost the fever; **but towards evening** acute fever with sweating; thirst; dry tongue; black urine. **An uncomfortable night, without sleep; completely out of his mind**

Fourth day. All symptoms exacerbated; black urine; **a more comfortable night**, and urine of a better color.

Fifth day. About mid-day slight epistaxis of unmixed blood. Urine varied, with scattered, round particles suspended in it, resembling semen; they did not settle. On the application of a suppository the patient passed, with flatulence, scanty excreta. **A distressing night, snatches of sleep**, irrational talk; extremities everywhere cold, and would not get warm again; black urine; **snatches of sleep towards dawn**; speechless; cold sweat; extremities livid. About mid-day on the sixth day the patient died. The breathing throughout, as though he were recollecting to do it, was rare and large. Spleen raised in a round swelling; cold sweats all the time. The exacerbations on even days.

trans. JONES

α′. Φιλίσκος ᾤκει παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος· κατεκλίνη, τῇ πρώτῃ πυρετὸς ὀξύς, ἵδρωσεν, ἐς **νύκτα ἐπιπόνως**· δευτέρῃ πάντα παρωξύνθη, ὀψὲ δὲ ἀπὸ κλυσματίου καλῶς διῆλθε· **νύκτα δι᾽ ἡσυχίης**. τρίτῃ πρωῒ καὶ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης ἔδοξε γενέσθαι ἄπυρος, **πρὸς δείλην** δὲ πυρετὸς ὀξὺς μετὰ ἱδρῶτος, διψώδης, γλῶσσα ἐπεξηραίνετο, μέλανα οὔρησε· **νύκτα δυσφόρως, οὐκ ἐκοιμήθη, πάντα παρέκρουσε.** τετάρτῃ πάντα παρωξύνθη, οὖρα μέλανα· **νύκτα εὐφορωτέρην**, οὖρα εὐχροώτερα. πέμπτῃ περὶ μέσον ἡμέρης σμικρὸν ἀπὸ ῥινῶν ἔσταξεν ἄκρητον· οὖρα δὲ ποικίλα, ἔχοντα ἐναιωρήματα στρογγύλα, γονοειδέα, διεσπασμένα, οὐχ ἱδρύετο· προσθεμένῳ δὲ βάλανον φυσώδεα σμικρὰ διῆλθε. **νύκτα ἐπιπόνως, ὕπνοι σμικροί**, λόγοι, λῆρος, ἄκρεα πάντοθεν ψυχρὰ καὶ οὐκέτι ἀναθερμαινόμενα, οὔρησε μέλανα, **ἐκοιμήθη σμικρὰ πρὸς ἡμέρην**, ἄφωνος, ἵδρωσε ψυχρῷ, ἄκρεα πελιδνά. περὶ δὲ μέσον ἡμέρης ἑκταῖος ἀπέθανεν. τούτῳ πνεῦμα διὰ τέλεος, ὥσπερ ἀνακαλεομένῳ, ἀραιὸν μέγα· σπλὴν ἐπήρθη περιφερεῖ κυρτώματι, ἱδρῶτες ψυχροὶ διὰ τέλεος. οἱ παροξυσμοὶ ἐν ἀρτίῃσιν.

The account is organized as a day-by-day account of his illness. At the end of the notes for each day, we see that the author mentions how the patient passed the night. A normal night, as we recall, would have been one that

diseases affect entire communities. *Epidemiai* might also refer to the 'visits' of doctors themselves to specific locations.

passed in sleep; a night disrupted by sickness occasions a variety of descriptors: first night: 'uncomfortable' (ἐπιπόνως); second night: better, and described as 'peaceful' (ἡσυχίης); third: 'uncomfortable' (δυσφόρως); fourth: again, a respite from the previous night's experience, 'more comfortable' (εὐφορωτέρην). But on the fifth day things get worse: the night is again described as 'distressing' (ἐπιπόνως), with little sleep (ὕπνοι σμικροί) and rambling talk, and his extremities become cold and impossible to warm. As the unfortunate Philiscus approaches the sixth day of his illness, the author marks the transition from the nocturnal to the diurnal period by commenting on his inability to sleep properly as dawn approaches: 'snatches of sleep towards dawn' (**ἐκοιμήθη σμικρὰ** πρὸς ἡμέρην).

The story of Philiscus is recorded in a style typical of the other cases collected in the second part of *Epidemics* 1, which read more like truncated case-notes than narratives.[10] Some are even more clipped than the account concerning Philiscus, but for the most part they all follow a similar organizational principle of recording symptoms according to time of day or night. The case of Erasinus will suffice to show how stylized this principle had become in these cases (*Epid.* 1, case 8; Jones 1923a, 200–201):

> Erasinus lived by the gully of Boötes. Was seized with fever **after supper**; **a troubled night.**
>
> *First day.* Quiet, but the **night was painful.**
>
> *Second day.* General exacerbation; **delirium at night.**
>
> *Third day.* Pain and much delirium.
>
> *Fourth day.* Very uncomfortable; **no sleep at night; dreams and wandering.** Then worse symptoms, of a striking and significant character; fear and discomfort.
>
> *Fifth day.* **Early in the morning was composed, and in complete possession of his senses.** But **long before mid-day was madly delirious**; could not restrain himself; extremities cold and rather livid; urine suppressed; **died about sunset.**
>
> trans. JONES

> Ἐρασῖνος ᾤκει παρὰ Βοώτεω χαράδρην. πῦρ ἔλαβεν **μετὰ δεῖπνον, νύκτα ταραχώδης.** ἡμέρην τὴν πρώτην δι' ἡσυχίης, **νύκτα ἐπιπόνως.** δευτέρῃ πάντα παρωξύνθη, **ἐς νύκτα παρέκρουσε.** τρίτῃ ἐπιπόνως, πολλὰ παρέκρουσε. τετάρτῃ δυσ-

10 The seven books of *Epidemics* vary in their narrative structures, though all essentially present case-studies. See Smith 1994, 2–10 and Jouanna 1999, 387–390 for stylistic details of individual books.

> φορώτατα· **ἐς δὲ τὴν νύκτα οὐδὲν ἐκοιμήθη· ἐνύπνια καὶ λογισμοί·** ἔπειτα χείρω, μεγάλα καὶ ἐπίκαιρα, φόβος, δυσφορίη. πέμπτῃ **πρωὶ κατήρτητο· κατενόει πάντα· πολὺ δὲ πρὸ μέσου ἡμέρης ἐξεμάνη,** κατέχειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, ἄκρεα ψυχρὰ ὑποπέλια, οὖρα ἐπέστη· **ἀπέθανε περὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς.**

This narrative simply lists each day, followed by terse notations of symptoms and observations. Most notably, each day is punctuated by a reference to the experience of the disease at night—first day: painful night (νύκτα ἐπιπόνως); second day: 'delirium towards night' (ἐς νύκτα παρέκρουσε); fourth day: 'no sleep at night.' Fifth day: death is recorded 'about sunset' (περὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς). The authors of *Epidemics*, as these accounts show, were particularly sensitive to these liminal periods between night and day as times when a disease would take a noteworthy turn, with the transition from evening to night generally observed to be especially ominous.

The phrase ἐς νύκτα, which we see in the case of Erasinus, appears some 46 times in the *Epidemics*, along with some variations—e.g., 'towards evening' (ἐς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέρην) or 'towards the setting of the sun' (τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμάς). The case of Cydis' son offers a good example of an author deploying the phrase to structure his narrative of the disease (*Epid.* 7.5):

> Cydis' son, about the winter solstice, had shivering and fever, distress in the right ear, and headache. But that kind of distress had persisted from babyhood, with draining, a fistular sore and a bad smell, but still was not for the most part painful. But at that time the pain and the headache were terrible. On the second or third day he vomited bile. When he sat at stool it was bilious, gluey, egg like, pale yellow. **Towards night** (ἐς νύκτα) on the fourth day and the fifth, some delirious talk. The pain in the head and the ear was dreadful, and the fever. On the sixth, bowel movement from linozostis; the heat and the pain appeared to abate. On the seventh he seemed well, but the throbbing in the temples did not abate. No sweating occurred. On the eighth day he had barley broth, and beet broth **towards evening**; **sleep at night, totally without pain**, and on the ninth, until **the period towards sundown**. But **towards night terrible pain in the head** and the ear. Flows of pus from the ear coincided with his times of greatest discomfort, right from the start. **The whole ninth night, and the next day, and most of the night, he did not recognize anyone, and groaned continuously** ... On the fourteenth, beginning at dawn and up to midday, sweat over the whole body, **with sleep and much coma**. It was hard to rouse him. But he wakened **towards evening** and his body cooled off moderately, but the throbbing in the temples persisted ... And

on the seventeenth pain **in the same places came on again towards night, and delirious talk …**

trans. SMITH 1994

Τῷ Κύδιος περὶ χειμερινὰς ἡλίου τροπὰς ῥῖγος καὶ πυρετός καὶ ὠτὸς δεξιοῦ ἄλγημα, καὶ κεφαλῆς ὀδύνη· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄλγημα εὐθὺς ἐκ σμικροῦ παιδίου παρηκολούθει ῥευματῶδες καὶ συριγγῶδες καὶ ἔνοδμον· ἔχον δὲ οὕτω τὰ πολλὰ ἀνώδυνον ἦν· τότε δ' ἡ ὀδύνη ἦν δεινὴ καὶ ἡ κεφαλαλγίη. δευτεραίῳ ἢ τριταίῳ ἐόντι, χολῆς ἔμετος· ἀνακαθιζομένῳ ἐγένετο ὑπόχολον, γλίσχρον ὡς ἐξ ὠοῦ, ὕπωχρον. τετάρτῃ **ἐς νύκτα** καὶ πέμπτῃ ὑποπαρελήρει, καὶ ἡ ὀδύνη τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ ὠτὸς δεινή καὶ ὁ πυρετός. ἕκτῃ ὑποχώρησις ἀπὸ λινοζώστιος· καὶ ἡ θέρμη λῆξαι ἐδόκει καὶ ἡ ὀδύνη. τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ὡς ὑγιής· κροτάφῳ δὲ σφυγμὸς οὐκ ἔλιπεν· ἱδρῶτος οὐδὲν ἐγένετο. ὀγδόῃ χυλοῦ ἐρρύφησεν· **ἐς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέρην** σεύτλου· **καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὕπνος· καὶ σφόδρα ἀνώδυνος**, καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ἔς τε τὸ **πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμάς. ἐς δὲ νύκτα τῆς κεφαλῆς δεινὴ ἡ ὀδύνη καὶ τοῦ ὠτός·** ξυνέβαινε δὲ καὶ πυορροεῖν τὸ οὖς περὶ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁπότε μάλιστα πονοίη, εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· **ὅλην δὲ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέρην καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλεῖον οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκεν οὐδένα, στένων δὲ διετέλει** … τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἀρξάμενος ἀφ' ἑωθινοῦ μέχρι ἐς μέσον ἡμέρης ἵδρου ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, **μετὰ ὕπνου καὶ κώματος πολλοῦ·** ἐγεῖραι ἔργον ἦν· **πρὸς ἑσπέρην** δὲ διηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα μετρίως κατεψύχθη, ἐν κροτάφοισι δὲ σφυγμὸς διετέλει … ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ ἧκε πάλιν **ἐς νύκτα ὀδύνη τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ παραλήρησις** …

JOUANNA 2003, 53–54

Again we see night as a time of great anxiety and uncertainty, a period during which the doctor and patient can anticipate worsening of symptoms in such cases of fever. A few times there seems to be some recovery during the night, as on the eighth day when the patient passed a night 'totally without pain' after an evening meal of 'barley broth, and beet broth,' but the relief is shortlived, since on the ninth day 'terrible pain' and flows of pus returned 'towards night.' The harrowing turn began with the onset of the ninth night, and continued straight through the tenth night, until there was finally some abatement of symptoms on the eleventh day.

A case from *Epidemics* 5 recounts the course of a chronic infectious disease that afflicted one Apellaeus of Larissa for two years before he finally succumbed to it (*Epid.* 5.22):

Apellaeus of Larissa was about thirty or slightly less. He was taken by the illness. **He was taken more at night than in the daytime, in his sleep**. He was ill about two years before his death. Sometimes he vomited reddish

bile. Sometimes he was wakeful. He also vomited black bile. After a powerful purgation of the head, when he was purged strongly and for a long time and drank the drug twice, the disease stayed away for six months. He was a copious eater, and, having a bilious body, when he had wrestled a great deal he had severe chills, fever seized him, and the **illness seized him towards night**. On the next day he felt healthy, and the next. **The following night**, after he had dined, the **sickness seized him after his initial sleep**, and **continued that night** and the next day until supper time. He died before coming to himself. He was drawn up on the right side at first, in the face and the rest of the body, later on the left. And whenever he seemed to get better, coma came on him, he would wheeze, and again the sickness possessed him.

trans. SMITH 1994, 163, modified

Ἀπελλαῖος Λαρισαῖος εἶχε μὲν ἡλικίην ὡς ἐτέων τριήκοντα, ἢ ὀλίγον ἀπέλιπεν· εἴχετο δὲ τῇ νούσῳ· **ἐλαμβάνετο δὲ τὰς νύκτας μᾶλλον τῶν ἡμερέων, ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ.** ἐνόσει δὲ ὡς δύο ἔτεα πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου· ἤμει δὲ χολὴν πυρρήν ἐνίοτε, ἐπεὶ διέγροιτο· ἤμει δὲ καὶ μέλαιναν. οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καθάρσιος ἰσχυρῆς πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον καθαιρόμενος, καὶ φάρμακον δὶς πιών, ἓξ μῆνας αὐτὸν διέσχεν. ἦν δὲ πολυφάγος· ἔχων δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἐπίχολον, παλαίσας πολλά, μάλα ἐρρίγωσε καὶ πυρετὸς **ἐπέλαβε, καὶ ἡ νοῦσος ἐς νύκτα.** τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ ἐδόκει ὑγιὴς εἶναι αὐτῷ, καὶ τῇ ἑτέρῃ· **τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἡ νοῦσος ἐπέλαβε** δεδειπνηκότα **ἀπὸ πρώτου ὕπνου** καὶ **εἶχε τὴν νύκτα** καὶ τὴν ἡμέρην μέχρι δορπιστοῦ· ἔθανε πρὶν ἐμφρονῆσαι. ἐσπᾶτο περὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πρῶτον τό τε πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ὅτε δοκέοι διαναπεπαῦσθαι, κῶμα εἶχε, καὶ ἔρρεγχε, καὶ αὖτις ἐξεδέχετο ἡ νοῦσος.

JOUANNA 2003, 14

The length of this illness allows the author to comment on an extended period of observation, although his narrative apparently focuses only on the patient's final days. Over this protracted disease—with an unusual six-month interval of relief following some strong drug purgatives—the author was able to generalize that the particular illness was worse at night than in the day. He mentions this at the opening of the account (ἐλαμβάνετο δὲ **τὰς νύκτας μᾶλλον** τῶν ἡμερέων), and when the disease returns after the six-month remission, the patient relapses 'towards night' (ἐς νύκτα). Although the following day passes more comfortably, the 'sickness seized him' again at night after dining, and continued through the night and into the next day until his death, which is noted to be some time around dinnertime (i.e., the illness continued up until that point, μέχρι δορπιστοῦ, at which point the patient died).

The observation in the last sentence of this case, that Apellaeus died in a 'coma'—a particularly deep kind of sleep, which approaches, but is probably not quite equivalent to, 'unconsciousness'[11]—suggests that it was diagnostically useful for Hippocratic doctors as a contrast to *hypnos*, the sleep which is both natural, as we saw, and essential for good health. The poignant account of Apellaeus' final night shows that he went from a state of normal, presumably restorative, sleep to intermittent 'coma': 'And whenever he seemed to get better, **coma came on him**, he would wheeze, and again the sickness possessed him.' The distinction between an insensate state that mimics—but is not quite the same as—actual sleep (*hypnos*)[12] shows how night was—under normal circumstances—conceptualized not as a time of physiological unconsciousness and passivity, but as a period in which important 'work' is carried out within the body.

4 Dreams and Disease

This is a topic taken up in other, more theoretical, Hippocratic treatises, in particular when they grapple with the question of dreams—how to interpret them clinically, especially for prognosticating the immediate course of an illness.[13] Dreams are a function of sleep, and sleep normally will occur at night. Daytime sleeping, as we saw in the passage from *Prognostic*, can be ominous, but never

11 See Hulskamp 2008, 128, n. 186. The Hippocratic use of κῶμα was not entirely clear even to Galen, who opened his treatise *On Coma According to Hippocrates* with the question (Mewalt 1915, 181 = 7.643 K.): τί ποτε cημαίνει τὸ τοῦ κώματος ὄνομα παρ' Ἱπποκράτει; πότερον τὴν εἰc ὕπνον καταφοράν, ὥc τινες τῶν ἐξηγηcαμένων ἔφαcαν; ⟨ἢ⟩ ὕπνον αὐτόν; ἤ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι, τὴν ὑπνώδη καταφοράν; ('What does Hippocrates actually mean by the noun 'coma'? Is it an attack of ['towards'] sleep as some commentators have said? Or sleep itself? Or, as other say, a sleep-like attack?'). See further Hulskamp 2008, 214–215, who notes Galen's use of 'coma' for states of dreamless sleep (as in Gal. *In Hipp. Prorrh.* 1.1.5 [20.24–21.2 Diels = 16.525–526 K.], where diseases 'caused by wetness of the brain' are 'comatose, sleepy and without images'). Aristotle (*Pr.* 873b14) refers to the effects of drunkenness as a kind of 'stupor' (κάρος, a near synonym for κῶμα), again caused by excessive wetness to the brain. At *Ars. Med.* 7–8 (1.325–327 K.) Galen refers to the sleep of those whose physiology runs wet as 'deep' (βαθεῖς), which is to say, deeper than they would be in a person with better balanced bodily mixtures of the hot, cold, wet, and dry.

12 See also Hp. *Epid.* 3.6, which also makes this distinction: κατεῖχε δὲ ἢ τὸ κῶμα συνεχές, οὐχ ὑπνῶδες, ἢ μετὰ πόνων ἄγρυπνοι. ('Either the coma held them continuously though it was not like sleep, or they were sleepless and in pain.')

13 For an overview of Hippocratic interest in dreams as a function of an individual's health see Van der Eijk 2004; Harris 2009 243–250; Hulskamp 2013.

as terrifying as a 'coma,' which is often linked with sleep as a kind of evil twin. *Epidemics* 2.3.1 describes an outbreak of a disease in Perinthus in which 'many patients suffered coma and delirium' which, as the author states, 'arose … during sleep' (ἐξ ὕπνων τοιοῦτοι). This was not a fatal disease, but marked by periods of 'coma' and 'sleepiness,' which changed to sleep*less*ness at the setting of the Pleiades (*Epid.* 2.3.1, trans. Smith 1994, 45):

> In the summer fevers there appeared on the seventh, eighth, and ninth days roughness on the skin, granulous, very like bites of gnats, not very itchy … But when they appeared the patients became hard of hearing and **comatose**. Women who were going to develop them were not **comatose** beforehand. And it did not persist throughout. But **they were comatose and sleepy** through the summer and to the setting of the Pleiades, whereupon they were **sleepless** instead. But generally no one died in this condition.
>
> γένοντο δὲ ἐν τοῖσι θερινοῖσι πυρετοῖσι περὶ ἑβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐνάτην τρηχύσματα ἐν τῷ χρωτὶ κεγχρώδεα, τοῖσιν ὑπὸ κωνώπων μάλιστα εἴκελα ἀναδήγμασιν, οὐ πάνυ κνησμώδεα· … ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο βαρυήκοοί τε ἦσαν καὶ **κωματώδεις**, πρόσθεν δὲ οὐ κάρτα ἦσαν **κωματώδεις** ᾗσιν ἔμελλε ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μὴν τὸ σύμπαν διετέλεον, **κωματώδεις δὲ καὶ ὑπνώδεις** τὸ θέρος καὶ μέχρι Πληϊάδων δύσιος, ἔπειτα μὴν **ἀγρυπνίαι** μᾶλλον. ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ σύμπαν ὑπὸ τῆς καταστάσιος ταύτης ἔθνησκον.

These symptoms were not limited here to night, but both coma and daytime sleep (at least the kind referred to in this case, i.e., linked with coma) would have been considered aberrant and pathological.

From a Hippocratic perspective, one of the main reasons why sleep is important—aside from its importance for digestion and nutritive processing[14]—is because the dreams it brings during the night have specific diagnostic powers

14 As in *Reg.* 2.60, which notes the effects of sleep on digestion: 'Sleep when fasting reduces and cools, if it be not prolonged, as it empties the body of the existing moisture; if, however, it be prolonged, it heats and melts the flesh, dissolves the body and enfeebles it. **After a meal sleep warms and moistens, spreading the nourishment over the body.** It is especially after early-morning walks that sleep is drying. **Want of sleep, after a meal, is injurious, as it prevents the food from dissolving** …' (trans. Jones 1931). (Ὕπνοι δὲ νῆστιν μὲν ἰσχναίνουσι καὶ ψύχουσιν, ἢν μὴ μακροὶ ἔωσι, κενοῦντες τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος ὑγροῦ· ἢν δὲ μᾶλλον, ἐκθερμαίνοντες συντήκουσι τὴν σάρκα, καὶ διαλύουσι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀσθενὲς ποιέουσι· **βεβρωκότα δὲ θερμαίνοντες ὑγραίνουσι, τὴν τροφὴν ἐς τὸ σῶμα διαχέοντες**· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀρθρίων περιπάτων ὕπνος μάλιστα ξηραίνει. **ἀγρυπνίη δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖσι σιτίοισι βλάπτει, οὐκ ἐῶσα τὸ σιτίον τήκεσθαι** …).

themselves.[15] This is the topic of *Regimen* 4, or *On Dreams*, which distinguishes its own method of dream interpretation based on natural principles and reason from that of religious interpreters, who handle divine things (ὁκόσα μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐνυπνίων θεῖά ἐστι … εἰσὶ οἳ κρίνουσι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων … *Reg.* 4.87) well enough, but are hit-or-miss when it comes to interpreting the 'physical symptoms foretold by the soul, excess, of surfeit or of depletion, of things natural, or change to unaccustomed things …' and they have **no idea *why*** they get something right or not (καὶ οὐδέτερα τούτων γινώσκουσι **δι' ὅ τι γίνεται**, οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἁμάρτωσι). The author of *Reg.* 4 offers a purely physiological explanation of dream content as a function of the processes at work in the body, and if things are off, the soul will let us know through dreaming.

The opening of *Reg.* 4 describes the process as follows (*Reg.* 4.86):[16]

> He who has learned correctly about the signs that come in sleep will find that they have an important influence upon all things. For when the body is awake the soul is its servant, and is never her own mistress, but divides her attention among many things, assigning a part of it to each faculty of the body—to hearing, to sight, to touch, to walking, and to acts of the whole body; but the mind never enjoys independence. But when the body is at rest, the soul, being set in motion and awake, administers her own household, and of herself performs all the acts of the body. **For the body when asleep has no perception but the soul when awake has cognizance of all things—sees what is visible, hears what is audible, walks, touches, feels pain, ponders. In a word, all the functions of body and of soul are performed by the soul during sleep**. Whoever, therefore, knows how to interpret these acts aright knows a great part of wisdom.
>
> trans. JONES 1931, modified

> Περὶ δὲ τῶν τεκμηρίων τῶν ἐν τοῖσιν ὕπνοισιν ὅστις ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκε, μεγάλην ἔχοντα δύναμιν εὑρήσει πρὸς ἅπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐγρηγορότι μὲν τῷ σώματι ὑπηρετέουσα, ἐπὶ πολλὰ μεριζομένη, οὐ γίνεται αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ἀλλ' ἀποδίδωσί τι μέρος ἑκάστῳ τοῦ σώματος, ἀκοῇ, ὄψει, ψαύσει, ὁδοιπορίῃ, πρήξεσι παντὸς τοῦ σώματος· αὐτὴ δὲ ἑωυτῆς ἡ διάνοια οὐ γίνεται. ὅταν δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἡσυχάσῃ, ἡ ψυχὴ κινεομένη καὶ ἐγρηγορέουσα διοικεῖ τὸν ἑωυτῆς οἶκον καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος πρήξιας ἁπάσας αὐτὴ διαπρήσσεται. **τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα καθεῦδον οὐκ αἰσθάνεται, ἡ δὲ ἐγρηγορέουσα γινώσκει πάντα, καὶ ὁρῇ τε τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀκούει τὰ**

15 See Jouanna 1999, 169–170.
16 See Hulskamp 2013, 37–38; also Gundert 2000, 24–28.

> ἀκουστά, βαδίζει, ψαύει, λυπεῖται, ἐνθυμεῖται, ἑνὶ λόγῳ, ὁκόσαι τοῦ σώματος ὑπηρεσίαι ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς, πάντα ταῦτα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ διαπρήσσεται. ὅστις οὖν ἐπίσταται κρίνειν ταῦτα ὀρθῶς μέγα μέρος ἐπίσταται σοφίης.
>
> JOLY-BYL 2003

Here the author imagines a soul temporarily freed by sleep from having to minister to the body while it is awake and processing sensory data from its perceptual organs. During sleep, then, when the soul is free to reflect the internal state of the body, it will represent its condition through dreams. The author notes in ch. 88 that the dreams of a healthy person will essentially reenact the actions and thoughts that the body experienced during the day (ὅσα τῶν ἐνυπνίων τὰς ἡμερινὰς πρήξιας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ διανοίας ἐς τὴν εὐφρόνην ἀποδίδωσι κατὰ τρόπον γινομένας … ταῦτα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀγαθά), and if they appear otherwise, the doctor should interpret such disturbances as indicative of physiological imbalances ('excess' [πλησμονή] or 'depletion' [κένωσις], among other things). From the specific nature of the dream-images caused by these disturbances the doctor will infer different material causes for them in the body and recommend a specific regimen to correct them. Images from the outside world, then, map analogously on to structures within the body, and, although the author analyzes many different kinds of dreams, the explanations all fundamentally involve the movement of bodily fluids, and treatments are recommended so as to bring them all into proper balance and bodily location.[17] There is much more one could say about this rich and under-studied treatise,[18] but its main

17 *Reg.* 4.89, e.g., moves from the celestial to the bodily to the therapeutic in quick and (it has to be said) rather startling succession: 'The stars are in the outer sphere, the sun in the middle sphere, the moon in the sphere next to the hollow. When any one of the heavenly bodies appears to be disfigured, to disappear, or to be arrested in its revolution … it is indicated that a **moist and phlegm-like secretion**, arising in the body, has fallen to the outer circuit. It is beneficial for this man to make his runs long … Reduce food by one-third, and take five days in gradually resuming the normal quantity' (ἄστρων μὲν οὖν ἡ ἔξω περίοδος, ἡλίου δὲ ἡ μέση, σελήνης δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὰ κοῖλα. ὅ τι μὲν οὖν δοκέοι τῶν ἄστρων βλάπτεσθαι ἢ ἀφανίζεσθαι ἢ ἐπίσχεσθαι τῆς περιόδου, … σημαίνει δὲ ἀπόκρισιν ἐν τῷ σώματι **ὑγρὴν καὶ φλεγματώδεα** γενομένην ἐς τὴν ἔξω περιφορὴν ἐσπεπτωκέναι. συμφέρει δὲ τούτῳ τοῖσί τε δρόμοισιν … τῶν τε σίτων ἀφελόμενον τὸ τρίτον μέρος προσάγειν ἐς πένθ' ἡμέρας. Joly-Byl 2003, 220.22–30).

18 In particular the author of *Reg.* 4, with his endorsement of prayer and his interest in connecting cosmic images in dreams to bodily condition, has struck some as more an outlier than as representative of anything canonically 'hippocratic.' See, e.g., Hulskamp 2013, 34–35, with bibliography. Recent debate can be tracked in Kudlien 1977; Joly and Byl [1984] 2003, 298 ("Parmi les oeuvres anciennes de la Collection, cette attitude religieuse parait bien isolée"); Jouanna 1998; Craik 2015, 266–276, esp. 271. See also Struck 2016, 105–112, for

importance for our concerns is to highlight how lively the Hippocratic doctor imagined bodily and psychic activity to be during the night, and how their understanding of its specific nocturnal physiology was deployed for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes.

5 Nocturnal Symptomatology

While the cases we have examined in *Epidemics* testify well to the Hippocratic interest in accurate *observation* of nighttime symptoms, occasionally the Hippocratic authors try to *explain* what causes them. Speaking in *Regimen* 4.87 of the physical pathologies that the soul can foretell through dreams (ὁκόσα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος παθήματα προσημαίνει), the author concedes that there are people who claim the *technê* of interpreting such matters (εἰσὶ οἳ κρίνουσι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τέχνηγ ἔχοντες), but that their success is unpredictable and they do not actually understand why some things work and other do not (καὶ οὐδέτερα τούτων γινώσκουσι, διότι [οὖν] γίνεται, οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἁμάρτωσι). Their main recommendation is prayer to the gods (θεοῖσιν εὔχεσθαι κελεύουσι), but, the author concludes, although prayer is a fine thing, 'it's necessary for someone who calls on the gods also **to help things along** too' (δεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν **συλλαμβάνοντα** τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι). The verb συλλαμβάνω here implies, it seems, consultation with a Hippocratic doctor and then heeding his rationalizing translation of nocturnal visions into physiological explanation, diagnostic identification, and practical treatment.

A more specific example of a nocturnal experience invoked as part of a Hippocratic attempt to explain a set of symptoms in order to diagnose and then treat the disease can be found in *Sacred Disease* 15 (Jouanna), where the author tries to debunk traditional claims that the madness (*mania*) associated with seizure diseases must be divine. As part of his explanation, he brings up different types of madness and their different symptoms. The treatise overall is well known for its polemic against superstitious or religious explanations of the disease, and early on in the work the author offers the example of nocturnal fear and madness as phenomena typically attributed to the gods (*Morb. Sacr.* 1.11–12, p. 8 Jouanna):

the relevance of *Reg.* 4 to contemporary theorizing about divination ("[*Reg.* 4] … shortens the leap [Aristotle] must make to consider that dreams could be related to future events outside the body," 112).

> When **at night** occur fears and terrors, delirium, jumpings from the bed and rushings out of doors, they say that Hecate is attacking or that heroes are assaulting. In making use, too, of purifications and incantations they do what I think is a very unholy and irreligious thing.
>
> οἷσι δὲ **νυκτὸς** δείματα παρίσταται καὶ φόβοι καὶ παράνοιαι καὶ ἀναπηδήσιες ἐκ τῆς κλίνης καὶ φεύξιες ἔξω, Ἑκάτης φασὶν εἶναι ἐπιβολὰς καὶ ἡρώων ἐφόδους. καθαρμοῖσί τε χρέονται καὶ ἐπαοιδῇσι, καὶ ἀνοσιώτατόν τε καὶ ἀθεώτατον πρῆγμα ποιέουσιν, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

What follows in 1.12–13 is the author's attempt to repudiate this kind of thinking first by means of its own internal illogicalities,[19] and then, more positively, in ch. 15, with his own explanations of nocturnal fear as a function of conditions in the brain (*Morb. Sacr.* 15.1):

> Those who are mad through phlegm **are quiet, and neither shout nor make a disturbance; those maddened through bile are noisy, evil-doers and restless, always doing something inopportune**. These are the causes of continued madness. But if terrors and fears attack, they are due to a change in the brain. Now it changes when it is heated, and it is heated by bile which rushes to the brain from the rest of the body by way of the blood-veins. The fear besets the patient until the bile re-enters the veins and the body. Then it is allayed. The patient suffers from causeless distress and anguish when the brain is chilled and contracted contrary to custom. These effects are caused by phlegm, and it is these very effects that cause loss of memory. **Shouts and cries at night are the result of the sudden heating of the brain**, an affection from which the bilious suffer but not the phlegmatic. The brain is heated also when the blood rushes to it in abundance and boils. The blood comes in abundance by the veins mentioned above, **when the patient happens to see a fearful dream and is in fear**. Just as in the waking state the face is flushed, and the eyes are red, mostly when a man is afraid and his mind contemplates some evil act, **even so the same phenomena are displayed in sleep. But they cease when the man wakes to consciousness and the blood is dispersed again into the veins.**
>
> trans. JONES 1923b

19 For discussion see Laskaris 2002, 146.

> οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ φλέγματος μαινόμενοι **ἥσυχοί τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐ βοηταὶ οὐδὲ θορυβώδεες, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ χολῆς κεκράκται τε καὶ κακοῦργοι καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμαῖοι, ἀλλ' αἰεί τι ἄκαιρον δρῶντες.** ἢν μὲν οὖν συνεχῶς μαίνωνται, αὗται αἱ προφάσιές εἰσιν· ἢν δὲ δείματα καὶ φόβοι παριστῶνται, ὑπὸ μεταστάσιος τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου· μεθίσταται δὲ θερμαινόμενος· θερμαίνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς χολῆς, ὅταν ὁρμήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸνἐγκέφαλον κατὰ τὰς φλέβας τὰς αἱματίτιδας ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ ὁ φόβος παρέστηκε μέχρι ἀπέλθῃ πάλιν ἐς τὰς φλέβας καὶ τὸ σῶμα· ἔπειτα πέπαυται. ἀνιᾶται δὲ καὶ ἀσᾶται παρὰ καιρὸν ψυχομένου τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου καὶ συνισταμένου παρὰ τὸ ἔθος· τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὸ φλέγματος πάσχει· ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ πάθεος καὶ ἐπιλήθεται. **ἐκ νυκτῶν δὲ βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅταν ἐξαπίνης ὁ ἐγκέφαλος διαθερμαίνηται·** τοῦτο δὲ πάσχουσιν οἱ χολώδεες, οἱ δὲ φλεγματώδεες οὔ· διαθερμαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὴν τὸ αἷμα ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον πολὺ καὶ ἐπιζέσῃ. ἔρχεται δὲ κατὰ τὰς φλέβας πολὺ τὰς προειρημένας, ὅταν **τυγχάνῃ ὥνθρωπος ἐνύπνιον ὁρῶν φοβερὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ ᾖ·** ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγρηγορότι τότε μάλιστα τὸ πρόσωπον φλογιᾷ, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐρεύθονται, ὅταν φοβῆται, καὶ ἡ γνώμη ἐπινοῇ τι κακὸν ἐργάσασθαι, **οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ πάσχει. ὅταν δὲ ἐπέγρηται καὶ καταφρονήσῃ καὶ τὸ αἷμα πάλιν σκεδασθῇ ἐς τὰς φλέβας πέπαυται.**

The trajectory of the overall argument is somewhat indirect, and appears at first to be something of a digression, beginning at ch. 14 (Jouanna), about the general functioning of the brain, but the author returns to his main purpose of explaining madness at 14.3 and his main point—that different kinds of madness have different physical causes, so there is no need to look to the gods for an explanation—soon becomes clear. The 'sacred disease' itself, according to the author, is a brain condition caused by excessive phlegm, which 'chills' and 'contracts' the brain 'contrary to custom.' The resulting condition can cause one kind of madness, a calmer form (ἥσυχοί τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐ βοηταὶ οὐδὲ θορυβώδεες), characterized more by what we might call depression, anxiety, even memory loss. Another kind of madness, which makes its sufferers 'noisy, evil-doers, and restless' is caused by bile (οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ χολῆς κεκράκται τε καὶ κακοῦργοι καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμαῖοι) and is to be distinguished from the kind of madness associated with the 'sacred disease,' which will afflict only phlegmatic (i.e., not bilious) people.

In explaining the nature of this second form of madness—the more violent variety *not* associated with the 'sacred disease'—the author notes that one of the symptoms typical of this madness are 'terrors and fears' (δείματα καὶ φόβοι), which can cause shouting and crying **at night** (**ἐκ νυκτῶν** δὲ βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν)—'an affection from which the bilious suffer, but not the phlegmatic' (which is to say, not those who suffer from the 'sacred disease'). Night fears, then, arise from excessive (and sudden) heating of the brain, caused by a person's bile (i.e., naturally hot) rushing to the brain rather than his phlegm

(naturally cold). These nocturnal symptoms, in other words, can be useful in accurately diagnosing a patient's condition, for night terrors and shouting (arising from excessive bile) would not be consistent with a diagnosis of the 'sacred disease' (caused by excessive phlegm). The author does not walk us through a diagnostic practicum here, but presumably he would maintain that if a person was experiencing seizures during the day *as well as* night terrors and loud shouting in one's sleep, those seizures could not have been caused by excessive phlegm, and quite possibly he would have classified and named those (bile-induced) seizures differently from those that had become associated with the 'sacred disease' (phlegm-induced).

Like the author of *Regimen* 4, the author of *Sacred Disease* also sees some diagnostic utility in understanding the effect of dreams on one's physiology, although they each approach the question from a slightly different perspective. Whereas the author of *Regimen* 4 is interested in how dreams *reflect* the condition of the body, and so how they can be useful for assessing a patient's health even beyond what might be immediately perceptible to the doctor, the author of *Sacred Disease* notes that sometimes, at least, a dream can *cause* a bodily condition. In adding nuance, for example, to his claim that the more violent kinds of madness are caused by excessive bile, he notes as well that sometimes night fears and shouting can also be caused by blood that boils over (ἐπιζέσῃ) and travels to the brain, a phenomenon which he explicitly attributes to fearful dreams (ὅταν τυγχάνῃ ὥνθρωπος ἐνύπνιον ὁρῶν φοβερὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ). This kind of madness, manifesting itself at night, is decidedly different from the kind caused by excessive bile since it reflects only a temporary psychological condition, and, as the author notes: 'whenever the patient awakens and becomes conscious and the blood disperses into the veins, [the symptoms] stop' (ὅταν δὲ ἐπέγρηται καὶ καταφρονήσῃ καὶ τὸ αἷμα πάλιν σκεδασθῇ ἐς τὰς φλέβας ...). Night fears can be, in short, symptoms of several conditions of the body, and a proper understanding of their cause will guide the doctor's ability to treat the patient.

As we have seen, in *Regimen* 4 dreams have diagnostic power as well, but here they are *generated* by, and so reflect, physiological states rather than cause them as in the passage accounting for blood-induced madness in *Sacred Disease. Regimen* 4.93, in fact, is quite explicit about fearful dreams: 'Whenever he runs away in fear [in a dream], **it indicates** that the blood is arrested by dryness. **It is in this case beneficial to cool and moisten the body**' (ὅσα δὲ φεύγει πεφοβημένος, ἐπίστασιν τοῦ αἵματος σημαίνει ὑπὸ ξηρασίης· συμφέρει δὲ ψῦξαι καὶ ὑγρῆναι τὸ σῶμα). Contrast this with the dreaming that indicates *good* health at *Regimen* 4.90, an almost rhapsodic passage that presents a kind of paradise in which the dreamer navigates a perfect natural world with confidence and fearlessness (*Reg*. 4.90):

> **The following too are signs that foretell health**: to see and hear clearly the things on the earth, to walk surely, to run surely, quickly and without fear, to see the earth level and well tilled, trees that are luxuriant, covered with fruit and cultivated, rivers flowing naturally, with water that is pure, and neither higher nor lower than it should be, and springs and wells that are similar. **All these indicate health for the dreamer, and that the body with all its circuits, diet and secretions are proper and normal**. But if anything be seen that is the reverse of these things, it indicates some harm in the body.
>
> trans. JONES 1931
>
> **Προσημαίνει δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑγείην**· τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀξὺ ὁρῆν καὶ ὀξὺ ἀκούειν, ὁδοιπορεῖν τε ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τρέχειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ταχὺ ἄτερ φόβου, καὶ τὴν γῆν ὁρῆν λείην καὶ καλῶς εἰργασμένην, καὶ τὰ δένδρεα θαλέοντα καὶ πολύκαρπα καὶ ἥμερα, καὶ ποταμοὺς ῥέοντας κατὰ τρόπον καὶ ὕδατι καθαρῷ μήτε πλέονι μήτε ἐλάσσονι τοῦ προσήκοντος, καὶ τὰς κρήνας καὶ τὰ φρέατα ὡσαύτως. **ταῦτα πάντα σημαίνει ὑγείην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τρόπον πάσας τε τὰς περιόδους καὶ τὰς προσαγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εἶναι**. εἰ δέ τι τούτων ὑπεναντίον ὁρῷτο, βλάβος σημαίνει τι ἐν τῷ σώματι.

6 Conclusion

Humans conceptualize the experience of illness at night differently, and usually negatively, from their experience of it during the day for any number of psychological reasons—from fear of darkness, of wakefulness, of isolation and abandonment while others sleep, to name just a few. We know now, too, that the body operates according to cyclical rhythms which alter one's physiology in noticeable ways according to diurnality or nocturnality.[20] We can measure such changes with precision instruments as well, and we understand the biochemistry behind them, but the Hippocratic doctors observed them too as they tracked the course of a disease across its diurnal cycles. Night served for them, as we have seen, as a chronological marker in their disease narratives, and this allowed them to circumscribe *nocturnal* symptoms as a category worthy of separate conceptualization and analysis in their efforts to develop systematic methodologies of diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment.

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20 See, e.g., Atkins 1982, Mackowiak 1998.

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CHAPTER 4

Nights of Insight: Plato on the Philosophical Qualities of the Night

Albert Joosse

1 Introduction: Darkness and Ignorance

What is the value of the night in Plato? As a philosopher whose most memorable images include the sun as the physical stand-in for the highest principle and a cave as the expression of the human condition, the answer may seem straightforward. We may think, that is, that Plato's highly appreciative attitude towards knowledge and his preference for using the day and daylight as images for knowledge leads him to neglect the night or to use it as a negative marker: as a stand-in for ignorance, the image of the condition we ought all to escape from.

And indeed, the night does occur as a metaphor in such contexts. As Socrates sums up the cave analogy a little further on in the *Republic*, speaking about the training of the philosopher-kings: ψυχῆς περιαγωγὴ ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινήν, τοῦ ὄντος οὖσαν ἐπάνοδον, ἣν δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθῆ φήσομεν εἶναι ('this is a matter of turning a soul from a nightly kind of day towards a true day—the ascent to what *is*, which we will say is true philosophy').[1] This is part of a close-knit network of metaphors tying the eye and vision to the mind and knowledge. The eye of the soul needs to be opened in order to see the day of true reality.[2]

Part of this network is also the terminology of light and fire that are suddenly seen by the initiands into the Eleusinian mysteries. Plato uses this, for instance, to describe the splendor of the Form of Beauty and its overwhelming effect on those who have seen it (*Phdr.* 250b3, c3–4). The fire is seen suddenly because presumably the mysteries were conducted during the night or in an artificial night.[3]

1 *R.* 521c6–8, trans. Reeve, modified.

2 For this metaphorical domain see Louis 1945, 128–130, 131–133, 137, 139. I have unfortunately been unable to consult Smith 1975. Note that in this study I will restrict myself to the night and its effects; I will not discuss the themes of sleep and wakefulness in their own right, except where sleep is the effect of the night, as in the *Timaeus* passages of section 4.

3 This is also in the background in Diotima's account of the 'sudden' (ἐξαίφνης, *Smp.* 210e4)

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However, we encounter the night far less often in this role—as a metaphor for ignorance—than we might have expected. More importantly, this role by no means exhausts the significance of the night in Plato's work. If we look at passages that talk about the night in a literal way, matters are much more complicated than our initial, straightforward picture suggests.

The role of the night in Plato's œuvre has not yet been discussed specifically, as far as I am aware. In what follows, I will therefore briefly survey the different roles which the night plays in Plato (and in doing so will treat the corpus more or less as a unity). Among these roles we can roughly discern two groups. Although they do not exhaust all passages in which the night figures, each of these groups brings together a fair number of passages in which the night plays a comparable role. Group (A), as I will label it, is concerned with the night as a structural factor. This includes the night as a part of the cosmic order and the night as a narrative element in the dialogues. Group (B) concerns the night as allowing for privileged cognitive access. I will elaborate on group (B) in particular. It includes passages that feature the night as a period during which good and bad deeds are done, the *Timaeus*' discussion of divination, and passages revolving around the Nocturnal Council in the *Laws*.

2 Nights to Be Feared and Night as Relief

Before we turn to groups (A) and (B), we begin with a number of passages in which Plato draws on what I suggest are traditional associations of the night, of which he makes use without subscribing to them. Sometimes we encounter the night as a period in which eerie events take place. In the *Republic*, Socrates mentions as particularly unsuitable for the education of children the stories of gods who change shape and roam about the earth at night, told by mothers who want to scare their children into obedience (*R.* 381e1–6).[4] The myth of Er ends momentously with a thunderclap and an earthquake at midnight (621b2–7).

In a different way, the *Apology* also appeals to traditional associations of the night. It makes use of the idea that the night offers us rest from the toils of the

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vision of Beauty. See Riedweg 1987, 47–56 on the image of the fire of the mysteries in Plato; cf. Louis 1945, 125–130. For the eye that is still unaccustomed to the light of truth, direct vision of it can induce blindness, οἷον … νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι (*Lg.* 897d8–9); it is better to look at images of it first (*Lg.* 897e1–2; *Phd.* 99d4–e6), just as those just freed from the cave discern things better νύκτωρ ('by night,' *R.* 516a8–b2).

4 See Damon in this volume on the way the Roman satirist Lucilius represents Numa's religious institutions as a grander and political version of what these mothers do (114–119).

day. At the end of Socrates' speech, in the course of his address to the jurors who have voted for his acquittal, Socrates assures them that no bad fate awaits him. For either death is a migration to a better place, or it is like a dreamless night—and who would not prefer such a night over many of the days he has lived through? (*Ap.* 40d2–e4) Here the night, considered apart from any dreams that might accompany it, offers relief and is anticipated with confidence.

3 Group A: Night as a Structuring Factor

3.1 *Night as Part of the Cosmic Order*

This grouping of passages includes the night as an element of structure. It structures the universe and in particular our human experience of it. It also structures Plato's dialogues and the philosophical conversations they portray or describe. The universe includes night and day as two opposite but interdependent phases. As it is described in the *Timaeus*, the day is the phase in which there is daylight, which is an actual body of light that flows from the sun.[5] In a sense, therefore, the night is what remains after the body of daylight has departed.[6] Since the origin of the day, the sun, is a perfect body and hence has a perfectly regular motion, the succession of night and day is also regular. This in itself is, in Plato's view, a beautiful feature of the cosmos, since regularity is beautiful. The night, therefore, is a constitutive part of this beautiful design of the cosmos.

In a more specific version of this idea, Plato notes that the succession of day and night is necessary for our—human—understanding and appreciation of cosmic order. This is because night and day are at the origin of our notion of number. And the notion of number allows us to acquire knowledge of mathematics and ultimately even of philosophy. We find this idea explicitly in the *Timaeus* (39b5–c2, 47a4–b2) and implicitly in the *Laws* (818c3–8).[7] The night is part of the structure of reality and allows us to latch onto that structure.[8]

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5 See *Ti.* 45b2–d4. I will return to this context in the *Timaeus* when discussing the process of perception, below, pp. 101–102.

6 Hence its priority to the day in some cosmologies, most notably Orphic ones, on which see Edmonds in this volume.

7 Line references to the *Laws* are based on the Budé edition.

8 For discussion within a framework of the teleology behind sight see Johansen 2004, 112–113. The study of astronomy of course also requires nighttime activity. In the anecdote in the *Theaetetus*' digression, Thales' laughed-at fall into a well presumably also occurs during the night (ἀστρονομοῦντα, *Tht.* 174a4–5). See Wilson in this volume, and also Atkins (24–25) on the structuring role played in Hesiod by the night's access to the stars.

3.2 *Night as a Narrative Framing Device*

The night also plays another structural role in Plato's work: as a framing condition for philosophical conversation. The disappearance of the night makes it possible to start philosophical discussion, while its advent at the end of the day marks the expectation that the conversation will soon end.

In many cases, this is almost like a background condition that is not made explicit. But sometimes our attention is drawn to it. This happens very conspicuously in the *Protagoras*. This dialogue opens with Socrates telling an unnamed friend about his conversation, earlier that same day, with Protagoras and others, in the house of Callias. It all started as follows (*Prt.* 310a8–b3, trans. Taylor):

> Last night, just before daybreak, Hippocrates, the son of Apollodorus and brother of Phason, began knocking very loudly on the door with his stick, and when someone opened it he came straight in in a great hurry, calling out loudly, "Socrates, are you awake or asleep?"

> Τῆς γὰρ παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ταυτησί, ἔτι βαθέος ὄρθρου, Ἱπποκράτης, ὁ Ἀπολλοδώρου ὑὸς Φάσωνος δὲ ἀδελφός, τὴν θύραν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πάνυ σφόδρα ἔκρουε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἀνέῳξέ τις, εὐθὺς εἴσω ᾔει ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ μέγα λέγων, "Ὦ Σώκρατες," ἔφη, "ἐγρήγορας ἢ καθεύδεις;"

It turns out that Hippocrates has been away for a few days and so has not heard of the arrival of Protagoras in Athens. He explains how and when he learned of it (*Prt.* 310c5–d2):

> When I got back, and we had had supper and were just going to bed, it was then that my brother told me that Protagoras had come. Late as it was, I immediately got up to come and tell you, but then I realized it was far too late at night; but as soon as I had had a sleep and got rid of my tiredness, I got up straight away and came over here, as you see.

> ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον καὶ δεδειπνηκότες ἦμεν καὶ ἐμέλλομεν ἀναπαύεσθαι, τότε μοι ἀδελφὸς λέγει ὅτι ἥκει Πρωταγόρας. καὶ ἔτι μὲν ἐνεχείρησα εὐθὺς παρὰ σὲ ἰέναι, ἔπειτά μοι λίαν πόρρω ἔδοξε τῶν νυκτῶν εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστά με ἐκ τοῦ κόπου ὁ ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν, εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς οὕτω δεῦρο ἐπορευόμην.

This account conveys the enthusiasm that drives Hippocrates, but it also clearly brings out the role of the night as a kind of barrier to philosophical conversation. We talk during the day.

Correspondingly, the coming of the night is normally a reason to wrap up the conversation. Again, this does not often get marked, but when it is it brings out what is expected in the usual course of events. In the *Philebus*, Socrates warns his interlocutor Protarchus not to force the discussion beyond its normal confines by continually throwing up difficulties (*Phlb.* 50d6–e2, trans. Frede):

> Now, tell me whether you will let me go now or whether you will keep us up till midnight. One further remark will gain me my release, I hope. I will gladly give you a full account of the rest tomorrow, but for now I want to steer towards the remaining points …
>
> νῦν οὖν λέγε πότερα ἀφίῃς με ἢ μέσας ποιήσεις νύκτας; εἰπὼν δὲ σμικρὰ οἶμαί σου τεύξεσθαι μεθεῖναί με· τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων αὔριον ἐθελήσω σοι λόγον δοῦναι, τὰ νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βούλομαι στέλλεσθαι …

Whether in jest or not, Socrates' remark indicates that the coming of darkness ought normally to terminate the discussion. Under ordinary circumstances, then, the dialogues are creatures of the day.[9]

This makes the exceptions to this rule stand out: the *Symposium* and the *Crito*. In both cases, the night involves threats to the integrity of philosophical conversation but also shows Socrates' superiority to such threats. In the *Symposium*, the conversation goes on well into the night and ends with everyone but Socrates asleep, a new day breaking, and Socrates leaving the conversation to spend the next day in his customary way.[10] The particular setting allows for a departure from the normal hours for conversation.[11] But it also allows for elements that put pressure on rational conversation. Think of the disturbance made by Alcibiades and his companions; and later on, another group of drunk people crashes the party. But at the same time, the setting allows Socrates to show his philosophical mettle. He needs no sleep and does not get drunk. And he proves how exceptional he is by carrying on the philosophical conversation in the midst of distractions and irrational tumult.

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9 The *Phaedo* is a special case and might be interpreted as highlighting the usual structure: Socrates' friends gather at daybreak so they can be with him as long as possible on this last day of his life (*Phd.* 59d3, 8). At the end of the day, Socrates decides not to sit out the last of daylight but departs, in a way, early (116e7–117a4).

10 The literature is extensive, but see Wildberger 2011 on the *Symposium* as an exceptional text that departs from the normal dialogic mode and even parodies other dialogues.

11 For ancient evidence on nocturnal banquets see Chaniotis 2018, 20–21.

Within this nocturnal conversation another narrative underlines the test-like aspect of the night: Alcibiades relates how he had to wait until it was night to try to seduce Socrates (*Smp.* 217d3–6). And he kept at it, literally clinging to Socrates all night long (219b4–c2). His perseverance, however, does not bring Alcibiades any closer to his aim. Socrates remains unaffected, just as Alcibiades also relates that on another occasion, Socrates stood motionless all through the night when he wanted to think about something (220c3–d5; cf. 223b6–c5).

The other exception is the *Crito*. Here again, the unusual setting helps to bring out the constancy of Socrates' philosophical character. On one level, conversation itself here figures as something inappropriate that needs the cover of night. Crito has bribed the guard to be able to enter Socrates' cell when it is still dark (it is now ὄρθρος βαθύς, but he came earlier, *Cri.* 43a4, 10). And he came to urge Socrates to escape the following night (46a6). Crito's is a clandestine operation, one which Socrates refuses to join. Even though it is night, Socrates remains true to his philosophical principles.

4 Group B: Night and Insight

4.1 *Night as a Marker of Ethical Judgement*

Under normal circumstances, then, it seems that the day and reasoned conversation belong together. This would suggest that the night has a limiting and perhaps negative value in Plato's work. The night can nevertheless also be a contributing factor in ethical judgement and philosophical insight. To start with, it can help bring out the goodness or badness of people's characters and actions.[12]

As to reproachable behaviour, the night is a common and proverbial locus for this. As Socrates' friend Protarchus comments explicitly in the *Philebus* (*Phlb.* 65e9–66a3):

> In the case of pleasures, by contrast [to reason], when we see anyone actively engaged in them, especially those that are most intense, we notice that their effect is quite ridiculous, if not outright obscene; we become quite ashamed ourselves and hide them as much as possible from sight, and we confine such activities to the night, as if daylight must not witness such things.

12 For the night as a time of plotting as well as of vigilance in the Roman Republic, see Pieper in this volume; for the night's critical value in medical diagnostics, see Rosen's chapter.

> Ἡδονὰς δέ γέ που, καὶ ταῦτα σχεδὸν τὰς μεγίστας, ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἡδόμενον ὁντινοῦν, ἢ τὸ γελοῖον ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἢ τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον ἑπόμενον ὁρῶντες αὐτοί τε αἰσχυνόμεθα καὶ ἀφανίζοντες κρύπτομεν ὅτι μάλιστα, νυκτὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα διδόντες, ὡς φῶς οὐ δέον ὁρᾶν αὐτά.

In the context, Protarchus uses the appearance of these pleasures as evidence of the nature of these pleasures themselves: they not only look but are ugly and shameful. Hence confining them to the night is an opportune strategy.

If someone seeks out the night in order to do something, then, it is probably something reproachable. Similar associations of the night with reprehensible action occur, for instance, in the *Gorgias* and the *Republic*, where the tyrant is said to prefer the night for his criminal actions.[13] In cases such as these, to say that certain activities happen by night is by itself to deliver a judgement about their ethical value.

But night can be a marker of ethical value also in a positive way. We have seen Socrates' constancy at night in the *Symposium* and *Crito*. Likewise, when Critias praises Solon as a virtuous man, one way he does so is to say that he worked at night, ample evidence of his diligence and seriousness (*Ti.* 26b2).[14] An interesting elaboration of this principle is in book 7 of the *Laws* (807e2–808d1). The life that the citizens of Magnesia will lead, and in particular their pursuit of physical and ethical perfection, will demand so much of their time that they must get the maximum out of every day and every night. Hence (*Lg.* 807e7–808c9, trans. Griffith/Schofield, modified):

> For any of the citizens at all ever to spend the whole of any night asleep, rather than being seen by his entire household to be always the first to wake up and get up, must be generally regarded as a disgrace, and not how a free person should behave. … Staying awake at nights is, for everyone, the key to dealing with a large part of their political or household business—the affairs of the city in the case of the magistrates, or for the mistresses and masters of households, matters within their own private

13 *Grg.* 471b5 (Archelaus) and *R.* 574d4 respectively. Compare further two passages from the *Laws*. In 874b8–c2 the Athenian Stranger stipulates that anyone who kills a burglar in the night will be released as innocent by the authorities. In 824a1–5, the Athenian Stranger speaks of a type of hunt where one can take turns sleeping, using nets, etc.; this type of hunting, he remarks, is called 'night hunting' (824a2). Since this is not at all a brave way to hunt, and unworthy of free men, it is to be prohibited in Magnesia.

14 We find this idea elsewhere too, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 2.24: οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα ('A man that is a counselor must not sleep the whole night through,' trans. Murray [Loeb]).

homes. … In cities, magistrates who do not sleep at night are a terror to evil-doers—external enemies and citizens alike; admired and respected by the just, by those with self-control; and of benefit to themselves and the entire city. Such a way of spending the night will also, quite apart from the benefits we have mentioned, produce, for the various groups in the city, a kind of courage in the soul.

τὸ γὰρ ὅλην διατελεῖν ἡντινοῦν νύκτα εὕδοντα καὶ ὁντινοῦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μὴ φανερὸν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγειρόμενόν τε καὶ ἐξανιστάμενον ἀεὶ πρῶτον, τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν δεῖ δεδόχθαι πᾶσι καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθέρου … ἐγειρομένους δὲ νύκτωρ δεῖ πάντας πράττειν τῶν τε πολιτικῶν μέρη πολλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν, ἄρχοντας μὲν κατὰ πόλιν, δεσποίνας δὲ καὶ δεσπότας ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις. … ἐγρηγορότες δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐν πόλεσιν νύκτωρ φοβεροὶ μὲν κακοῖς, πολεμίοις τε ἅμα καὶ πολίταις, ἀγαστοὶ δὲ καὶ τίμιοι τοῖς δικαίοις τε καὶ σώφροσιν, ὠφέλιμοι δὲ αὑτοῖς τε καὶ συμπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. Νὺξ μὲν δὴ διαγομένη τοιαύτη τις πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδρείαν ἄν τινα προσπαρέχοιτο ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἑκάστων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

So sleep should be limited as much as possible in order to get the most out of every cycle of day and night. But over and above that, vigilance during the night is also extra effective in two directions. It is a deterrent against malevolent parties, and inspires 'a kind of courage' in everyone in the city.[15] These added benefits that result under the cover of night make the good magistrate's virtue all the more discernible.

The passages discussed in this section, then, feature the night as an ethical marker, not in the sense that all nightly activities are suspect, but because the night gives privileged access to the condition of the people who are active during it. It brings out the worst in bad people and shows good people for what *they* are. But the night does not only give us insight into people's characters, as we will see when we turn to the *Timaeus*.

15 The phrase ἑκάστων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν suggests that the wakeful magistrates themselves are among those in whose souls courage is produced, as the anonymous reviewer points out; but it also indicates that other people become more courageous through their watchfulness. This makes one wonder what kind of courage this is, in the latter group, if it is the result of other people's vigilance—the addition of τινα in the text is probably meant to reflect this.

4.2 *Night's Inward Turn of Perception and Inspiration*

In Plato's *Timaeus*, we are offered an account of the cosmos and of human nature. The night comes into this in two passages, one on visual perception and one on the liver. Connecting these two can yield interesting insights.

According to Timaeus, sight is a process that involves the merging of the light that comes from our eyes with daylight.[16] Daylight is a body that originates in the sun and that hovers above the earth during the day. Its absence is night. Akin to this, but on a much smaller scale, our eyes send out a fire of their own. When these two meet, their kinship allows them to combine into a homogeneous body of light. In other words, when our light leaves our eyes and hits upon daylight, it merges with it, based on its similarity with it. The resulting composite can then meet whatever objects there are to be seen and, based on its homogeneous structure, it can transmit whatever motions this encounter generates back to the eye and to the soul of the perceiver. A primary role, within the perceiver's soul, is played by the appetitive part of the soul which is located in the belly—even plants which have only this part of the soul, can perceive—even if ultimately the perception reaches the rational part of the soul, allowing for articulation of what we see.[17] This is how we see.

At night, something else happens (*Ti.* 45d3–46a2, trans. Cornford):

> When the kindred fire (of daylight) has departed at nightfall, the visual ray is cut off; for issuing out to encounter what is unlike it, it is itself changed and put out, no longer coalescing with the neighbouring air, since this contains no fire. Hence it sees no longer, and further induces sleep. For when the eyelids, the protection devised by the gods for vision, are closed, they confine the power of the fire inside, and this disperses and smooths out the motions within, and then quietness ensues. If this quiet be profound, the sleep that comes on has few dreams; but when some stronger motions are left, they give rise to images answering in character and number to the motions and the regions in which they persist—images which are copies made inside and remembered when we awake in the world outside.
>
> ἀπελθόντος δὲ εἰς νύκτα τοῦ συγγενοῦς πυρὸς ἀποτέτμηται· πρὸς γὰρ ἀνόμοιον ἐξιὸν ἀλλοιοῦταί τε αὐτὸ καὶ κατασβέννυται, συμφυὲς οὐκέτι τῷ πλησίον ἀέρι γιγνόμενον, ἅτε πῦρ οὐκ ἔχοντι. παύεταί τε οὖν ὁρῶν, ἔτι τε ἐπαγωγὸν ὕπνου

16 On perception in the *Timaeus*, see Brisson 1997a and 1997b.

17 See Brisson 1997a, 313–316; Merker 2003, 24–44. The remark about plant perception is in *Ti.* 77b1–6.

> γίγνεται· σωτηρίαν γὰρ ἣν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐμηχανήσαντο, τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων φύσιν, ὅταν ταῦτα συμμύσῃ, καθείργνυσι τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐντὸς δύναμιν, ἡ δὲ διαχεῖ τε καὶ ὁμαλύνει τὰς ἐντὸς κινήσεις, ὁμαλυνθεισῶν δὲ ἡσυχία γίγνεται, γενομένης δὲ πολλῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας βραχυόνειρος ὕπνος ἐμπίπτει, καταλειφθεισῶν δέ τινων κινήσεων μειζόνων, οἷαι καὶ ἐν οἵοις ἂν τόποις λείπωνται, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα παρέσχοντο ἀφομοιωθέντα ἐντὸς ἔξω τε ἐγερθεῖσιν ἀπομνημονευόμενα φαντάσματα.

The fire inside no longer departs outward during the night, because it lacks a congenial partner in the outside air. Our eyes are, as it were, in an alien environment, exiles in the night.[18] As a result, the light coming from inside turns back onto itself, and further into the organism. And here it has an interesting effect: it smoothes out motions within, so that sleep results. We dream when this smoothing-out is not complete; otherwise we have a dreamless sleep.[19]

What are these motions our passage refers to? The motions of the soul are essentially of three types. The first type will not further concern us in this study: these are the rational motions of the soul, which insofar as they are rational are also circular rather than straight. In their circularity these rational motions imitate the perfect motions of the heavenly bodies and of the cosmos as a whole. The second type is equally internal to the soul. These are the irrational motions of fear, anger, and other emotions, but also desires and appetites. The third type covers the motions that constitute perception—we just encountered these in thinking about the process of perception during the day. These motions come from outside the soul, impact it via the senses, and penetrate through to the irrational part around the belly.

According to the account of *Ti.* 45d3–46a2, all such motions come to rest when the light of the eyes is turned inward, except the very strong ones. We can make sense of this exception as referring to daytime experiences that have made a big impact and that cause us to dream about them at night. But equally as relevant in Plato's view is the kind of strong motion that results from a failure of the rational part of the soul to tame and control the irrational parts. This would mean that a well-ordered soul will allow for its motions to be completely calmed at night, while one that is not or not sufficiently ordered is harder to calm down.

Let me briefly expand on this difference between well-ordered and badly ordered souls. In a well-constituted soul, the motions of the irrational parts

18 On the kinship of the light of the eyes and that of the sun, see Johansen 2004, 110–114.

19 On dreams in Plato see Vegléris 1982. See also Rosen's discussion of dreams in the Hippocratic corpus, this volume (82–86).

are moderate to start with, because they obey the commands of reason. As a result, these motions will keep quiet at night as well. By contrast, in a soul that is only superficially ordered, or not at all, the motions of the irrational parts do not obey reason. They are too strong for it to tame them. While daytime behavior may still look decent because reason finds some way to prevent the worst excesses of desire, our appetites will seize the opportunity when reason is asleep. Take for instance the tyrannical soul of the *Republic*, in which the 'lawless' appetites rear their heads and seek satisfaction at night: it will try to have sex with its mother, commit foul murder, and eat anything at all (571c–d).[20] These are clearly references to dreams and an example of the kind of stronger motion that may still persist after the inner light has smoothed most of the motions of the soul.[21]

In a well-ordered soul, instead, there is room for other kinds of dreams. The *Republic* mentions the possibility of the rational soul itself seeking out what it doesn't know, in past, present, or future (*R.* 571e1–572a3). In the *Timaeus* (71a3–72a6), it is the appetitive part, located in the belly, that partakes of the gift of divination, by means of the images that appear in the liver as in a mirror. Let us briefly remind ourselves of the function of the liver in the *Timaeus*.

Normally, during the day, the thoughts of reason project images on the smooth surface of the liver.[22] This is the way reason and appetite can communicate despite the latter's inability to follow reason. One could say that reason formulates its message in terms that appetite can understand, i.e., in terms of perception. Thoughts get translated, in some way or another, into physical images on the surface of the liver. If reason and appetite are in harmony, reason's thoughts are sweet and gentle, and the liver is likewise smooth and sweet. If, however, reason is at odds with appetite and has reason to be angry at it, dark thoughts are displayed and the liver becomes bitter and wrinkled as a result. This grim appearance of the liver makes the appetitive part very scared indeed. By this mechanism, reason can keep appetite in check even if appetite is not in concord with it.[23]

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20 See Redfield 2014 for an interpretation of this passage as part of a fourth-century "turn toward the innerness of meaning" (15).

21 As Vegléris 1982, 56–60 points out, the dreams of badly ordered souls also contain truth, though not truth concerning intelligible reality or the future: they make clear (cf. *R.* 572b7) the condition in which the soul finds itself.

22 See Merker 2003, 64–66 for discussion of this passage which emphasizes the corporeal character of mirror images (against readings which make it a matter of reflection of visual rays, more intuitive for modern readers).

23 Some interpreters have considered this account to be full of irony. There are good reasons, however, to take the passage seriously as a statement of Plato's (best shot at an) account of

The mechanism I just now described for the day allows for divination during sleep. When reason is asleep, it no longer sends down images to the liver. In a well-ordered soul, the movements of the appetitive part itself have also subsided. The soul is calm and the liver is smooth; the ideal setting for higher powers to inspire the appetitive part by giving it images of things to come. Here is how Timaeus describes the situation of a well-ordered soul (*Ti.* 71c6–e6):

> Using towards it [the liver] a sweetness of like nature to the sweetness of the liver itself, and setting it right till all is straight and smooth and free, [the mind] makes that part of the soul that dwells in the region of the liver to thrive in well-being and gentleness of mood, and by night to pass its time in the sober exercise of divination by dreams, since it had no part in rational discourse and understanding …, that it might have some apprehension of truth …
>
> That divination is the gift of heaven to human unwisdom we have good reason to believe, in that no man in his normal senses deals in true and inspired divination, but only when the power of understanding is fettered in sleep or he is distraught by some disorder or, it may be, by divine possession.
>
> γλυκύτητι δὲ τῇ κατ' ἐκεῖνο συμφύτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸ χρωμένη καὶ πάντα ὀρθὰ καὶ λεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλεύθερα ἀπευθύνουσα, ἵλεών τε καὶ εὐήμερον ποιοῖ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἧπαρ ψυχῆς μοῖραν κατῳκισμένην, ἔν τε τῇ νυκτὶ διαγωγὴν ἔχουσαν μετρίαν, μαντείᾳ χρωμένην καθ' ὕπνον, ἐπειδὴ λόγου καὶ φρονήσεως οὐ μετεῖχε … ἵνα ἀληθείας πῃ προσάπτοιτο …
>
> ἱκανὸν δὲ σημεῖον ὡς μαντικὴν ἀφροσύνῃ θεὸς ἀνθρωπίνῃ δέδωκεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔννους ἐφάπτεται μαντικῆς ἐνθέου καὶ ἀληθοῦς, ἀλλ' ἢ καθ' ὕπνον τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως πεδηθεὶς δύναμιν ἢ διὰ νόσον, ἢ διά τινα ἐνθουσιασμὸν παραλλάξας.

Note that Timaeus finds it important to point out that even our irrational soul has some contact with truth, even if it is unable to interpret what it sees. In the overall narrative of the *Timaeus*, this effect results from the attempt, on the part of the (lower-order) creators of the human body, to make everything as good as possible. For the irrational part it is better to have some contact with the truth

divination, not least reasons having to do with the value of the mantic art in Plato's time. See, e.g., Struck 2016, 28–30.

than to be cut off from it completely. By the same token, however, it is clear that this kind of contact with the truth is, overall, not as good as the kind of contact available to the rational part of the soul.

Nor does its ability to divine things to come put appetite on a par with reason. The appetitive part itself lacks reason and Timaeus insists that it therefore does not understand the images it sees during sleep. Their interpretation is left to reason, when it wakes up again. Conversely, however, reason itself can never partake of this peculiar access to truth which the appetitive part has: 'no man in his normal senses deals in true and inspired divination, but only when the power of understanding is fettered' (71e3–5).

The night, therefore, makes the light of the eye turn inward, producing calm in the soul. This kind of concentration is in turn a precondition for the peculiar capacity of the liver to show images of past, present, and future. Barring special cases of frenzy or divine possession, at no other time does a human being have this kind of access to truth. The night becomes a privileged period for a peculiar kind of access to the truth. We turn now to a wholly different case in which the night nevertheless has a similar role to play as a period of concentration that allows us to access the truth.[24]

4.3 *The Nocturnal Council*

We saw above that the night helps us judge people. But the night also helps people judge.[25] This is certainly the case in what is probably Plato's final work, the *Laws*. It features a peculiar institution called the nocturnal council (νυκτεϱινὸς σύλλογος, *Lg.* 909a3–4, 968a7). This council is composed of what Charles Kahn has called "the inner circle of the ruling class."[26] This includes the most

24 Note that we have two factors that help calm down the liver: reason, as described in *Ti.* 71a–72a, and the flame of sight, as in *Ti.* 45d–46a. Reason calms appetite as a matter of one's way of life and internal constitution. But at the end of each day, it is the inner fire which produces calm in the whole soul including the soul around the liver. If reason is unsuccessful in calming the liver as a matter of one's internal constitution, the light of the eyes cannot help but leave major motions restless. Whereas if the internal fire does not induce sleep, nothing prevents moderate desires, calmed by reason, from fulfilling their modest roles in going after representations of food etc.

25 In emphasizing the advantages of nocturnal judging, the *Laws* expands on a cultural expectation present also, e.g., in Hom. *Il.* 2.24, cited earlier in n. 14. Eustathius' commentary to this line includes reference to a proverb present also in Zenobius: ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή (Leutsch-Schneidewin 1.82, no. 97), which may or may not have been current in Plato's day. Cf. Chaniotis 2018, 37. I thank the reviewer for Brill for bringing this proverb to my attention.

26 In his 1961 review of Glenn Morrow's *Plato's Cretan City*, included in his foreword to the 1993 reissue of Morrow's book (there on p. xxi). Some resist the term 'nocturnal council'

senior guardians of the law, the highest education officers and those on whom the highest honors of the state have been conferred. Their function is to make sure that the laws of the city stay true to the purpose for which they were initially laid down, i.e., the promotion of virtue in individual citizens and in the city as a whole. To this effect the council has at least two formal roles. The first is to argue with atheists. These have been incarcerated in a special prison so as not to infect the rest of the citizen body. Members of the council talk to them over the course of at least five years, in order to convince them of the existence, benevolence, and integrity of the gods (908a4–909a8). The council's second role is to hear reports about laws in other places, brought to them by special observers sent out for this purpose. In view of these reports, the councillors deliberate about the correctness of the city's own laws. They can confirm these, or, if a better arrangement happens to have been found elsewhere, adopt these or adapt the city's laws (951d4–952d4).

The status of this council in the *Laws* is not exactly clear.[27] But two things are clear: it is an important body, the fullest description of which comes at the very end of the whole dialogue. And it is clear that they meet at night. In some passages they are said to meet νύκτωρ (*Lg.* 908a4, 962c10), in others at dawn (ὄρθριος) before sunrise (951d7, 961b6).[28] Note, therefore, that it is not the middle of the night that is at issue here. It is desirable that there is some light. I suppose this is because it would be dangerous to meet when there is only darkness without any light. Perhaps a background consideration is that people will have had the chance to get some sleep (though we saw above that this should be kept at a minimum for free men). But why should this council meet during the night at all? Because it is, as the Athenian Stranger puts it in one passage, the time 'when everybody is most free from other business.'[29] We will see in what sense this is true.

because of sinister connotations and because it does not meet at the dead of night (e.g., Brisson 2001, 162–163, who in my view does not give enough weight to νύκτωρ in 908a4 and 962c10). The literal rendering should nevertheless be preserved; as this section shows, its meeting time when it is not yet day is important for its functioning.

27 See among others Schöpsdau 2011, 575–585; Bobonich 2002, 391–395, 407–408; Klosko 1988; Morrow 1960, 500–515.

28 In the *Critias*, the royal council in Atlantis also administers justice at night (νύκτωρ, 120b7). Morrow 1960, 503, n. 5 suggests that the phrase ἀπ' ὄρθρου μέχριπερ ἂν ἥλιος ἀνάσχῃ refers to the time when the council should start its meetings, not to their duration. But if the meetings were intended to last into the new day, the pointed references to the nightly character of their meetings would be inappropriate.

29 δεῖν δὲ ὄρθριον εἶναι τὸν σύλλογον, ἡνίκ' ἂν τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ μάλιστ' ᾖ τις σχολὴ παντί (961b6–8).

The night here appears as a place of leisure in which the most important things can get done. We can see that point. But there remains something strange about this. The relegation of these meetings away from the day might suggest that there is something clandestine going on here. Perhaps there is something to this. Remember that the council is responsible for persuading atheists of the falsity of their beliefs. Perhaps it is better not to carry on such conversations with dissidents at a time when other citizens are out and about as well. The reports from the observers from abroad, too, might contain subversive material, which it would be too dangerous to listen to if one were not as philosophically firm as the members of the council.

More importantly, however, the meeting time of the council is strange because it seems that nothing could be more important than these meetings. Why then should it yield, calendar-wise, to less important matters, and not take place at the most opportune moment during the day?

One way to look at this, I think, is to appeal to the idea of concentration and rest which we have already seen operative in the case of divination in the *Timaeus*. The night has very positive value because it allows the councillors to concentrate. Let me briefly expand a little on the role of the council with respect to virtue in order to substantiate this point.

The council is said to be responsible for the preservation of the state and its laws. This is not a matter of fending off any kind of alteration to the laws but rather a matter of adaptation, if the need is there. The councillors should do so in a way analogous to other kinds of expertise. The Stranger explicitly mentions the captain, the doctor, and the general (961e1–962a9), each of whom uses the combination of his senses and his intelligence to stay focused on the one goal of his expertise. In the same way, the council should be informed—it should perceive what happens elsewhere and what happens inside the city—and it should also be capable of intelligent judgement. The goal of that judgement, what guides this intelligence, is the creation of virtue (*Lg*. 961d1–963a5).

The virtue of the city as a whole is the council's fixed goal, even if the way to get there may change depending on circumstances. The reason why the members of this council are suitable for this task is precisely that they are superior to all others in virtue. And in contrast to rulers of other states, the council does not base decisions on ever-changing final ends.[30] Those other rulers waver

30 In 962d8–9, interpretations differ about the exact distribution of ἄλλο ἄλλη: does it claim that each piece of legislation in different cities aims at a range of goals (England 1921, ad loc.), or that for each city, there is one aim of legislation, which differs from city to city (Schöpsdau 2011, 589)? The argument seems to lose its point if we accord other cities a unity of purpose, albeit mistaken, behind their legislation, and the Greek does not force

(πλανᾶσθαι, *Lg.* 962d7–8). The members of the nocturnal council, however, are constant and never swerve (μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, 962d3). As Robert Mayhew points out, in so doing, the councillors imitate, as far as possible, the constant, regular movement of the highest beings in our universe, and indeed the universe itself. We saw above, in discussing the *Timaeus*, that the circular movements of the rational part of the soul are most like the circular motions of the heavenly bodies. The councillors, then, try to be as rational as possible, which means that they have only one aim in view. Their job, therefore, is to be constant and never to swerve.[31]

This firm emphasis on the unity and constancy of the council's aim may help explain the timing of its meetings. As the Stranger says, there is leisure before the day starts. This leisure does not only concern the contingent fact of people's calendars being empty. It also applies to the absence of things to perceive. At deepest dawn, black night is over, so people can actually gather without causing injuries; but the risk of councillors becoming distracted is still kept at a minimum. When they meet, nothing is happening yet in the city. Not even their sight will distract them: there is hardly anything to see.

In this way, the night emerges as a privileged period: it allows for more concentration than is possible during the day. In Plato, perception, and sight in particular, is a favored metaphor for knowledge. But of course perception can also be a diversion from knowledge. In the *Phaedo*, it is the fate of an embodied soul that it will never reach knowledge, because it will always be forced to use sight, hearing, and the other senses. Hence the philosopher's striving to separate his soul from his body. In a perhaps similar way, the night offers the creature of the *Timaeus* and the council of the *Laws* a period of respite from the senses and, in different ways, access to truth.

5 Conclusion

The night, then, plays a number of different roles in Plato and cannot be reduced to something that straightforwardly stands for the ignorance we should all avoid. To return to an observation I made at the outset, it seems that the night has a negative value particularly as a metaphor for ignorance, but

this reading on us. Griffith/Schofield's translation seems sensible: 'since in any particular city the various pieces of legislation are all aiming in different directions.'

31 For this connection between the council's virtue and the constancy of cosmic motions see Mayhew 2008, 148; also Brisson 2001, 173–174. Bartels 2017, 194–197 downplays the metaphysical anchoring of the council's aim.

that literal night often has much more positive associations in Plato's work, or at least more complex ones. Plato employs these associations, which are not necessarily exclusive to his work, to suit the form and content of his philosophical project.

We have seen that we can group the majority of the passages discussed under two headings. First, the night appears as a structuring device. On the cosmic level it is part of the regular succession of day and night which allows us to discover and study mathematics and ultimately philosophy. In the cosmos of the dialogue, the night marks the beginning and end of philosophical discussion, at least under normal circumstances. Second, the night is also a place of special insight. It reveals things that go unnoticed by day in people's behavior and character. It reveals things future and things past, which remain inaccessible to those who live by the day. And the absence of daytime perception also allows for the high concentration exercised by Magnesia's philosophical council.

We might wonder why, if the night is such a propitious time for gaining insight in various matters, the philosophical conversations of Plato's dialogues nevertheless take place during the day, as we saw earlier. Note, first, that reading Plato's texts from the perspective of the night brings into view the contrast between the leisure of Socrates' interlocutors and indeed of Socrates himself, as they feature in the Platonic dialogues, and the apparently busy schedules of the citizens of Magnesia. The interlocutors of the *Laws* themselves also enjoy a leisure of the Socratic type in which to conduct their conversation. It is a measure, perhaps, of the idealistic nature of the old men's city that its inhabitants are expected to be active practically around the clock.

But to return to the question, it is important to qualify the type of insight gained in the various circumstances. The dream scenario described in the *Timaeus* applies only to the non-rational part of the soul, and explicitly so. Any insight it may gain is less than rational and does not qualify as knowledge, since it is unable to defend itself and account for itself. This is not to deny the value of such insight. But it may clarify the kind of understanding which the interlocutors of Plato's daytime conversations are seeking. Moreover, it is no simple matter to benefit from the insightful nature of the night. The night is a time of testing. Socrates proves himself able to pass the test, but will his interlocutors? The councillors of Magnesia have been selected on the basis of their strong moral calibre and their successful completion of a demanding trajectory of studies. While they may be able to profit from the night to gain the best philosophical insight and to exercise the soundest political judgement of which they are capable, others may not be as steadfast and for them the night may be a place of darkness more than a place of insight.

The night, therefore, remains a place to approach with caution. Things can become clearer at night than they would ever be in daylight. We can see people's characters revealed, watch future events, study the best course for the city. But it takes a strong soul to use the night to its full advantage. The night, in its regular alteration with the day, may set us on the path to philosophy. But we need to have advanced far along that path to be immune to the night's dangers. And so it falls to philosophers to create the right conditions that promote true nights of insight.

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CHAPTER 5

Night's Fictions: The Religious Institutions of Numa in Lucilius fr. 484–489 (Marx)

Cynthia Damon

1 Introduction

In the canonical story of Rome's regal period, Numa is too good to be true. This Sunday-school version of the story is presented in a nutshell in the late antique summary history of unknown authorship called 'On the Famous Men of the City of Rome.' Summoned to Rome from his Sabine hometown, 'Numa … instituted a great many rituals in order to render a wild population tame by means of religion' (*Numa …, ut populum ferum religione molliret, sacra plurima instituit; uir. ill.* 3.1). A list of his institutions follows (*uir. ill.* 3.1):

> He built a temple to Vesta. He selected Vestal Virgins. He established three *flamines* (for Zeus, Mars, and Quirinus), the Salian priesthood, twelve priests of Mars (the principal of these is called '*praesul*'). He appointed a *pontifex maximus*. He built gates for Janus Geminus. He divided the year into twelve months by adding January and February.
>
> *Aedem Vestae fecit, uirgines Vestales legit, flamines tres, Dialem Martialem Quirinalem, Salios, Martis sacerdotes, quorum primus praesul uocatur,* XII *instituit, pontificem maximum creauit, portas Iano gemino aedificauit. Annum in* XII *menses distribuit additis Ianuario et Februario.*

By contrast with the complex story of Romulus' reign, with its alternating violence and compromise and its murky conclusion, the story of Numa in our extant sources is considerably shorter and more straightforward. Historians are skeptical about almost all of the story's details, but that is not our concern here.[1] For the ancients, Numa was a founder of religious institutions at the heart of

1 Ogilvie 1965, 88 is representative: "the only historical fact about the second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius, is his name." His commentary contains a detailed critique of the achievements that over time accrued to Numa. Briquel 2004–2005 emphasizes how uneventful Numa's reign is and how monotone his character: "ce roi apparemment sans histoire" (53).

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Roman public life and a foil to the bellicose Romulus; Plutarch even dubs him a philosopher king (Plu. *Num.* 20.8–9).[2]

The too-good-to-be-true quality of the canonical Numa is particularly evident in the numerous signs of divine favor attaching to the story. The author of 'On Famous Men' mentions the most prominent of these (*uir. ill.* 3.2):

> He passed many useful laws under the pretense that his every action was taken at the behest of the nymph Egeria, his wife.
>
> *Leges quoque plures et utiles tulit, omnia, quae gerebat, iussu Egeriae nymphae, uxoris suae, se facere simulans.*

In all accounts Egeria is central to the genesis of some of Numa's key institutions,[3] and under their benign influence all was well in Italy (Plu. *Num.* 20.3–4, trans. Boulet 2004, adapted):

> … and in came a longing for the sweets of peace and order, and for life employed in the quiet tillage of the soil, bringing up of children, and worship of the gods. Festival days and sports, and the secure and peaceful interchange of friendly visits and hospitalities prevailed through the whole of Italy. The love of virtue and justice flowed from Numa's wisdom as from a fountain, and the serenity of his spirit diffused itself, like a calm, on all sides.
>
> … καὶ πόθος εἰσερρύη πάντας εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ σέβεσθαι θεούς. ἑορταὶ δὲ καὶ θαλίαι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀδεῶς ἰόντων καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένων ὑποδοχαὶ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατεῖχον, οἷον ἐκ πηγῆς τῆς Νομᾶ σοφίας τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπεισρεόντων εἰς ἅπαντας καὶ διαχεομένης τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον γαλήνης.

Such is Plutarch's saccharine summary of the reign of his philosopher king.[4]

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2 Ogilvie 1965, 89 argues for the antiquity of the core of the Numa tradition: "the picture of Numa as a great religious founder with many specific institutions to his name will already have taken shape by 400 B.C." On Numa as philosopher-king in Plutarch see Boulet 2004 and 2013, Colman 2014, and Stadter 2015.

3 On Numa's liaison with Egeria and its role in authorizing religious institutions see, e.g., Liv. 1.19.5, 1.21.3, D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 2.60.5–7, Plu. *Num.* 4.1–2, 8.9–10.

4 Plutarch's positivism is extreme but not unrepresentative. Deremetz 2013, 234 sums up the Numa tradition thus: "All these accounts present essentially the same portrait of Numa: the second king of Rome was a model of wisdom, piety, and virtue." Fox 2015 offers a more

2 The Dark Side

But as with the original philosopher kings in Plato's *Republic*, who are trained to lie to their subjects—it is a noble lie, says Plato, but a lie nonetheless (*R.* 414b9)—there is a darker side to the Numa story.[5] We caught a glimpse of this earlier in the 'pretense' mentioned by our anonymous author (*simulans, uir. ill.* 3.2). Similar skepticism is found in Livy, who speaks of a 'miraculous fiction,' a *commentum miraculi*. Furthermore, and despite the uncharacteristically jejune style of his narrative of the second king's reign, Livy supplies a detail found in no other source, namely, that Numa's meetings with Egeria happened at night: they were *congressus nocturni*.[6] Nocturnal coupling may be implicit in versions of the story that make Egeria Numa's wife, but nobody else bothers to turn out the lights.[7]

The shades of night are also prominent in one of Ovid's stories about Numa. According to Ovid, the peculiar sacrifice of pregnant cows and their unborn calves at the Fordicidia originated in instructions given to Numa by night, in a dream (*Fast.* 4.629–672).[8] In a time of scarcity—crops were disappointing, flocks were not reproducing[9]—Numa consulted Faunus, the Italian equivalent

nuanced reading of *Numa*: "a strangely equivocal text, unstable in tone, and displaying a marked tension between serious political ambitions, and a sensationalist interest in the absurd" (192). See also Stadter 2015 and n. 7 below.

5 Cf. Pailler 1988, 655–667: 'Les deux visages de Numa,' esp. 655 for the contrast of 'le côté diurne' and 'la face nocturne' and 657, n. 113 for Pailler's broad definition of 'nocturne.' He mentions the Lucilius fragment discussed below only incidentally (670, n. 3). For a convenient overview of negative elements in Roman thought about nocturnal rituals such as those associated with Numa (on which see below), especially their connection with sexual immorality, political conspiracy, and magic, see now Carlà-Uhink 2018, esp. 331–345.

6 Liv. 1.19.5: *cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse*. See Rawson 1985, 310, n. 62 and Pailler 1988, 656 on Augustine's still more negative assertion that the story of Egeria originated in hydromantic rites (*C.D.* 7.35 quoting Var. *Curio de cultu deorum*).

7 Plutarch, for example, in keeping with his positive depiction of Numa, omits the nocturnal element from Numa's meetings with Egeria (*Num.* 4.2, 8.6), and although he admits that some of Numa's stories, such as the (tall) tale of his negotiations with Jupiter Elicius (15.3), possessed a 'strangeness' (ἀτοπία, 15.1), he does not locate that strangeness in the night. The nocturnal element is completely absent from the account of Numa's reign in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.58–76).

8 The date of the festival is 15 April.

9 On Numa as a proponent of agriculture, not war, as a source of prosperity for Rome see, e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 2.26: *docuit … sine depopulatione atque praeda posse eos colendis agris abundare commodis omnibus*. Numa's encouragement of agriculture (as opposed to warfare), particularly his land distributions, is also mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.62.4, 2.76.1–2) and Plutarch (*Num.* 5.5, 16.3–4).

for Pan and a god who 'used to give responses to a resting soul in the nighttime silence' (*ille dabat tacitis animo responsa quieto/ noctibus*, 4.651–652).[10] After sacrificing two ewes to Faunus and Sleep and making a bed of their fleeces, Numa dozed off, whereupon he received a visitation from Night herself, with Faunus in her train (*Fast.* 4.661–666):

> Meanwhile Night arrives, a circlet of poppies on her placid forehead, bringing black dreams with her. Faunus is at hand. Treading the fleeces with a hard hoof, he uttered words like this from the right side of Numa's bed: "You must placate the goddess of the Earth by killing two cows, o King; let one heifer supply two souls for the sacrifice."

> *interea placidam redimita papavere frontem*
> *Nox venit, et secum somnia nigra trahit;*
> *Faunus adest, oviumque premens pede vellera duro*
> *edidit a dextro talia verba toro:*
> *"morte boum tibi, rex, Tellus placanda duarum:*
> *det sacris animas una iuvenca duas."*

Faunus' riddle stumped Ovid's rather thick-headed Numa, but Egeria eventually showed up and explained that the sacrifice of a pregnant cow was called for (*Fast.* 4.667–670).[11] In fact, of 31 pregnant cows, since the sacrifice was performed on the Capitoline and in each of the city's 30 *curiae* (*Fast.* 4.635–636).[12]

Other shadows accrue to Numa's account from his association with funerary ritual[13] and mourning.[14] Numa's authority is given for the procedure to be

10 Faunus is a complicated figure. In some sources he is an aboriginal king (Verg. *A.* 7.47–49, D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.2, Just. 43.1.6, *Origo gentis romanae* 4.3–4), in others, a god (thus in the early annalists [*FRHist* 2 F10, 6 F2, 7 F1]; cf. Var. *L.* 7.36 *Fauni dei Latinorum*). For recent overviews see Graf 2006 and Flobert 2012. See also nn. 12, 17, 23, and 28 below.

11 The Fordicidia sacrifice may support the attribution to Numa of a *lex regia* requiring that fetuses be taken from their dead mothers' wombs before burial (*Dig.* 11.8.2). On Numa's laws see Cic. *Rep.* 2.26: (Scipio speaking) *propositis legibus his quas in monumentis habemus*; 5.3: *legum ... scriptor*; Liv. 1.19.1: *parat condere urbem iure legibus ac moribus*; D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 2.60.4. A number of candidates are collected in Bruns 1909, 8–11.

12 Another extended story about Numa in *Fasti* involves Faunus and—to judge by its Vergilian model (*A.* 7.85–95)—takes place at night, but Ovid does not specify a nocturnal setting (*Fast.* 3.295–326; similarly Plu. *Num.* 15.3–4).

13 Bruns #1 (from Plin. *Nat.* 14.88), a ban on vinous libations at the pyre: *VINO ROGUM NE RESPARGITO.*

14 Bruns #11 (from Plu. *Num.* 12.2) on the duration of mourning.

used for the disposal of victims of lightning strikes, for example, and perhaps also for the rather gruesome treatment of women who died pregnant, whose fetuses had to be removed before burial, just as the unborn calves were removed from the Fordicidia victims (*Fast.* 4.637–640).[15]

A particularly interesting passage attributing nocturnal elements to the founder of Roman religion is a fragment in which the satirist Lucilius makes Numa an inventor of the spooks who haunt the nights of his superstitious contemporaries. The fragment survives thanks to Lactantius, who in a work dedicated to the emperor Constantine quotes it to substantiate his claim that 'Lucilius mocks the stupidity (*stultitiam*) of those who think that statues are gods,' which is part of his argument that Roman religious practices are obvious inventions foisted upon a gullible population by Faunus and Numa, among others.[16] Like many sources, including Virgil (*A.* 7.45–101, 12.772–787), Lactantius views Faunus as an indigenous king, forefather of Latinus, not as the goat-footed apparition who troubled Numa's sleep in Ovid's *Fasti*.[17] Here is the fragment (Lucil. 484–489 Marx):

> As for the creepy Lamias that figures such as Faunus and Numa Pompilius instituted, one man trembles at them, another puts all his hopes in them.[18] Just as infant children believe every bronze statue to be alive, to

15 Bruns #4 (from Festus 178 Lindsay) on those killed by lightning, and #14 on women who died pregnant (from *Dig.* 11.8.2). In the list of pontifical responsibilities established by Numa Cicero includes *de sepulcris* (*Leg.* 2.47), likewise Livy (1.20.7) includes *iusta ... funebria placandosque manes* in his list of the topics of pontifical lore. Characteristically, Plutarch erases the shadows: his Numa taught the *pontifices* 'not to regard any such offices as a pollution, but to honour the gods below also with customary rites' (*Num.* 12.1, trans. Perrin). On the law about the extraction of fetuses from dead mothers see Sanna 2013.

16 The chapter in which our Lucilius fragment is embedded foregrounds Numa (Lactantius *Inst. Div.* 1.22.1: *Harum uanitatum aput Romanos auctor et constitutor Sabinus ille rex fuit*) but in the *Epitome* Lactantius juxtaposes Faunus and Numa: *Has omnes ineptias primus in Latio Faunus induxit, qui et Saturno auo cruenta sacra constituit et Picum patrem tamquam deum coli uoluit et Fentam Faunam coniugem sororemque inter deos conlocauit ac Bonam Deam nominauit, deinde Romae Numa, qui agrestes illos ac rudes uiros superstitionibus nouis onerauit, sacerdotia instituit, deos familiis gentibusque distribuit, ut animos ferocis populi ab armorum studiis auocaret* (*Inst. Epit.* 17 [22]). The analogy in lines 486–487, *ut pueri ... homines*, is also preserved by Nonius (55.26 [Merc.]), who quotes it for the usage of *infans*.

17 On Faunus see Smits 1946, 5–45 and Parker 1993.

18 On *omnia ponit* Marx comments "quae locutio a re aleatoria uidetur esse deducta ... et hoc loco significat 'in fructu uitae arbitratur omnia esse'."

be a human being, so those idiots think make-believe phantoms[19] are real, they believe there is a beating heart in bronze statues: a showroom [*or* workshop *or* hovel] of paintings [*or* of painters, *or* of artists], of reality not a trace, everything make-believe.

terriculas Lamias,[20] *Fauni quas Pompiliique*
instituere Numae, tremit has, hic omnia ponit.
ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia aena
uiuere et esse homines, sic isti somnia[21] *ficta*

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19 In taking *ficta* to modify the dream visions, not the dreams themselves, I am following the apparent lead of Lucretius, who echoes this passage at Lucr. 1.102–135, esp. 104–105, *quam multa tibi iam fingere possunt* (sc. *uates*)/ *somnia*. For Lucretius the misinformation provided by Ennius concerns the existence of the underworld and its phantoms, not the occurrence of the dream itself. But in both passages the line between inventing a dream and informing others about unreal entities seen in a dream is hard to draw. See O'Hara 1987, 517, n. 5.

20 For the fragment numbers in other modern editions of Lucilius see now the *conspectus numerorum* available at www.cambridge.org/9781107189553 (under 'Resources'; accessed 2 March 2019). Editors treat *terriculas* and *Lamias* as nouns in asyndeton and generally put a comma between them. Warmington omits the comma but translates each as a noun ('scarecrows and witches'). The first word, however, is (or is plausibly) a non-personified neuter meaning something like 'scare tactics' in its few other occurrences as a substantive: Acc. *trag*. 324R: *ubi nunc terricula tua sunt?*, 623: *istaec tua aufer terricula atque animum iratum comprime*; Liv. 5.9.7: *sine tribuniciae potestatis terriculis*, 34.11.7: *nullis minis, nullis terriculis se motos*; Ov. *Met*. 15.155: *falsi terricula mundi*. In its one other appearance in Classical Latin it is an adjective: Afran. *com*. 270R: *numero o inepti pertimuistis cassam terriculam aduersari*. In my view it is preferable to treat it as an adjective here, thereby avoiding a peculiar juxtaposition of generic and particular. The expression *terriculae Lamiae* would then embrace other members of the demonic sisterhood such as Empusa, Mormo, and Gorgo. Lucilius gives Lamia a 'sister' at 1065–1066M (*Lamia et Bitto oxyodontes/ … illae gumiae euetulae improbae ineptae*), where the name Bitto (pitto *codd*., Pytho *Scaliger*) seems modeled on the names of other female spooks and the poet uses another diminutive; the allusion is perhaps to elderly prostitutes. On the importance of naming spooks see Belmont 1974, 125: "Il s'ensuit que l'attribut essentiel des croquemitaines est le nom qu'on leur donne."

21 *isti somnia*, Lachmann's plausible emendation for the nonsensical and unmetrical *isti omnia* of the manuscripts, is accepted by Marx, Warmington, Krenkel, and Charpin. Lucian Müller's repair, *istic omnia*, reported but not printed by Krenkel, is less satisfactory since it does not remove the implausible assertion that *every* fiction is believed to be true. The precise reference of *somnia* is unclear, but Numa's dream of Faunus (Ov. *Fast*. 4.661–666; see above) may be relevant; Ovid's source is unknown (Parker 1993, 212–216). On *somnia* as a reference to the stories of poets, including prominently Ennius, see O'Hara 1987.

uera putant, credunt signis cor inesse in aenis.
pergula pictorum,[22] *ueri nihil, omnia ficta.*

484 terriculas Lamias *Warmington* : terriculas, Lamias *alii* 486 ut *codd. Lactantii* : et *codd. Nonii* 487 isti somnia *Lachmann* : isti omnia *codd.* : istic omnia *Müller* 489 pictorum *codd.* : fictorum *Marx coll. Apul. Mun. 32 Phidian ... fictorem* | ficta *codd.* : picta *codex Taurinensis epitomes*

To adopt his own artistic metaphor, Lucilius paints with a broad brush here: he speaks not of Faunus and Numa but of Faunuses and Numas.[23] So the superstitions, the Lamias, by which the targets of the satirist's mockery are duped are likewise plural and may have had many points of origin, not just these figures from early Roman history. But the reference to Faunus and Numa is not arbitrary: unlike the artistic fictions in paint or bronze, or literary monsters such as Polyphemus mentioned in another fragment from this same book of the *Satires*,[24] the frightening fictions described in this fragment seem to have been designed as a deterrent to behaviors deemed undesirable.[25] The verb *instituere* draws attention to both the intentionality and the resulting pressure on the subject population.[26] This is the superstitious underbelly of the *metus deorum* that, according to Numa apologists such as Livy and Plutarch, was encouraged by a pragmatic ruler in the primitive conditions of early Rome (e.g., Liv. 1.19.4, Plu. *Num.* 8.2).[27] Lucilius' Faunuses and Numas operate on the assump-

22 Marx, citing Apul. *Mun.* 32: *Phidian ... fictorem*, emends to *fictorum*, but Warmington, Krenkel, and Charpin accept the transmitted reading *pictorum*, as do Christes/Garbugino.

23 Faunuses are already found in Ennius (*Ann.* 207 Skutsch: *Faunei*). Skutsch 1985, ad loc. comments on the contemptuous tone of both passages. See also Wiseman 2006.

24 At fr. 480–483M Lucilius mentions the poems of Homer as another source of false and frightening beliefs: *multa homines portenta in Homeri uersibus ficta/ monstra putant, quorum in primis Polyphemus ducentos/ Cyclops longus pedes: et porro huic maius bacillum/ quam malus naui in corbita maximus ullast.*

25 For Lamia's deterrent power see Strabo 1.2.8 (εἰς ἀποτροπήν). Plutarch, by contrast, describes Numa's policies as an incentive to behaviors deemed desirable (e.g., *Num.* 20.3, 20.8) and a contribution to the community's welfare (*Num.* 4.8: σωτήριον).

26 Underlying the dismissive diminutive *pergula* is a different axiom about exploitation, but given the difficulty of pinning down the exact meaning of the term ('salesroom,' 'workshop,' 'school,' 'hovel'?) and the ambiguities of and doubts about the text (is *pictorum* from *pictor* or *pingo*? should we read *fictorum*?) it is hard to say precisely what form of exploitation Lucilius has in mind. For the possibility that these *ficta* might be for sale, see, e.g., fr. 492M from the same book: *at qui nummos tristis inuncat* 'but as for the man who hauls in coins looking(?) sad.'

27 This viewpoint survives in Lactantius (see the passages quoted above). On the political dimension of nocturnal associations see further Pieper in this volume.

tion that their subjects are as credulous as children, and the nocturnal element in the description makes their tactics seem cruel: their creations are nightmarish figures—Wicked Witches, not Glindas—that belie the kings' propitious names.[28]

The satirist adds to Numa's nocturnal credentials—the *congressus nocturni* and the incubation ritual that we saw earlier—by deeming his creations *somnia* and by associating him with creatures of the night.[29] Faunus is a source of both nighttime prophecy and nightmares[30] and Lamia regularly worked under cover of darkness.[31]

The original Lamia was a smelly shapeshifting demon who perpetually avenged the death of her own children at Hera's hands by snatching and eating other mothers' children. This is her earliest appearance in Latin literature, but she turns up in the comedies of Crates and Aristophanes and is much discussed in the relevant scholia.[32] The generalizing plural *Lamiae* blurs the picture somewhat, and the diminutive adjective *terriculae* renders the demons creepy rather than terrifying, but these Lucilian innovations sharpen the mockery of what he presents as widespread contemporary credulity.[33]

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28 Contrast, e.g., Plu. *Superst.* 4.166c–167a, where both saviors and kindly divinities are mentioned. Plutarch's Numa is a paragon of kindness, who persuades his subjects to adopt virtuous behaviors by example, not coercion (*Num.* 20.8, *Comp. Lyc. Num.* 1.4, 4.8). Similarly the Numa of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who credits him with depicting the gods as beneficent (*Ant. Rom.* 2.62.5); Dionysius was one of Plutarch's sources. For the ancients' derivations of Faunus from *faueo* (among other possibilities) and Numa from *nomos* or *nemus* see Serv. *G.* 1.10, *A.* 6.808, and Var. *L.* 5.36 respectively, with Deremetz 2013, 236–238. The etymology of Lamia, by contrast, points to hunger; see Cappanera 2016, 113–114.

29 Lucretius' adaptation of the critique, too, situates superstitious fears in the night (Lucr. 2.55–58, 3.87–90, 6.35–38, esp. *caecis in tenebris*; with O'Hara 1987).

30 Nighttime prophecy: e.g., Verg. *A.* 7.81–106, esp. 87: *sub nocte*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.641–672, esp. 662: *Nox uenit.* Nightmares: e.g., Plin. *Nat.* 25.29: *Faunorum in quiete ludibriis*; cf. 25.4, 27.87, 30.84. In late antiquity, at least, Faunus is also credited with the invention of blood sacrifice (Lactantius *Inst. Epit.* 17 (22), quoted above).

31 For example, in the story that she would remove her eyes so as to allow her restless soul to sleep (Schol. Ar. *Pax* 758, D.S. 20.41, Plu. *Curios.* 2.516a); cf. also the activities of *Lamiae illae* at Apul. *Met.* 1.11–17, which are set firmly in a nighttime context (11: *tertiam ferme uigiliam*; 14: *nox ibat in diem, anteluculo, nocte*; 15: *antelucio, hoc noctis iter, non longe lux abest*; 16: *quae nocte gesta sunt*; 17: *alta nocte, nocte*; cf. 1.18: *iam iubaris exortu*). On Lamia see recently Imperio 2015, esp. 2–6 and Cappanera 2016, esp. 110 on the scholiast's equating her with a blood-sucking owl (ἣν νῦν φαμὲν ἰδιωτικῶς στρίγλαν); cf. also Ov. *Fast.* 6.131–143, Hor. *Ars* 340.

32 On the play entitled *Lamia* by Crates and Aristophanes' references to Lamia (*V.* 1030–1035, 1177; *Ec.* 73–78) see Cappanera 2016.

33 The reality may be different, of course. However, it is tempting to see these 'creepy Lamias' as negative reflections of the numerous minor divinities later catalogued by Varro (e.g.,

The connection drawn here between Numa and maleficent beings is not unique to Lucilius. Plutarch, for example, despite his extraordinarily sunny depiction of the age of Numa, does mention that, at times, Numa subdued his warlike subjects using 'vague terrors from the god' (φόβους τινάς … παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ) and 'strange apparitions of divine beings and threatening voices' (φάσματα δαιμόνων ἀλλόκοτα καὶ φωνὰς οὐκ εὐμενεῖς, *Num.* 8.3). But whereas Plutarch's Numa is a figure of the distant past, the present tenses used by Lucilius' speaker suggest that the Lamias instituted by Numas and Faunuses continue to haunt and harry his own credulous contemporaries (*tremit has, hic omnia ponit*); the reference to bronze statues, too, evokes second-century Italy, adorned by spoils from the Greek world.[34] While the satirist could have based his attack on the folly of superstition on another recent import, namely, Greek philosophy, the argument here rests instead on 'common sense': by pointing to the intentionality at the origin of the superstitions—and this is asserted as a fact, *instituere*—the speaker shows that the superstitious have been duped by their own rulers.[35]

The intentionality that underpins the satirist's mockery is also asserted—but with a positive spin—by Polybius, who was both Lucilius' contemporary and, like him, an associate of Scipio Aemilianus. In his famous discussion of the Roman constitution, and speaking about the institution of superstition at Rome, Polybius says (Plb. 6.56.10–12, trans. Paton, adapted):[36]

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fr. 157 Cardauns on Edusa and Potina). Many are female, and each requires supplication (August. *C.D.* 6.9: *pro uniuscuiusque proprio munere supplicari oportere*). For a long list see Roscher 1890–1894, 187–233, and Perfigli 2004, 21–179. See Lipka 2009, 69–71 on the source of such lists in books entitled *Indigitamenta* and attributed by a late source to Numa (Arnobius *Adv. Nat.* 2.73: *Pompiliana indigitamenta*). For a list possibly datable to a time closer to Lucilius see Serv. *G.* 1.21, where DS says the gods were mentioned by 'Fabius Pictor,' i.e., the antiquarian Numerius Fabius Pictor, writing in the late second century BCE, not the annalist.

34 Cf. 525–526M: *Lysippi Iuppiter … transibit … Tarento*. I am grateful to the anonymous referee for this reference.

35 See Martin 1997 and 2004, 125–139 for an overview of philosophical attacks on superstition. On Lucilius' personal connection to some highly pertinent Academic doctrine see Lévy 2017, esp. 188–193 on the treatise dedicated to Lucilius by Clitomachus (discussed briefly by Cicero at *Luc.* 102–103) and some philosophy-rich fragments. On the rivalry between—to put it crudely—practical *sapientia* and theoretical *sophia* in the second century BCE see Habinek 2006, esp. 483 on a tendentious fragment of Lucilius about '*Laelius … sophos*' (1236M) and 485: "a roiling debate over the nature, meaning, and class identification of *sapientia*."

36 On superstition and religion more generally in Polybius see recently Spickermann 2013 and Nelsestuen 2017, esp. 233–234.

> It is a course which perhaps would not have been necessary had it been possible to form a state composed of wise men, but as every multitude is fickle, full of lawless desires, unreasoned passion, and violent anger, the multitude must be held in by invisible terrors and suchlike pageantry. For this reason, my opinion is not that the ancients acted rashly and at haphazard in introducing among the people notions concerning the gods and beliefs about the inhabitants of Hades, but that the moderns are most rash and foolish in banishing such beliefs.
>
> εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πολίτευμα συναγαγεῖν, ἴσως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀναγκαῖος ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος· ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθός ἐστιν ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πλῆρες ἐπιθυμιῶν παρανόμων, ὀργῆς ἀλόγου, θυμοῦ βιαίου, λείπεται τοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ τὰ πλήθη συνέχειν. διόπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ δοκοῦσί μοι τὰς περὶ θεῶν ἐννοίας καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου διαλήψεις οὐκ εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν εἰς τὰ πλήθη παρεισαγαγεῖν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ νῦν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀλόγως ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά.

Like Lucilius, Polybius is talking about political control in the present (λείπεται τοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ τὰ πλήθη συνέχειν). And his assertion that 'the ancients' 'introduced beliefs about the inhabitants of Hades' (τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου διαλήψεις ... παρεισαγαγεῖν) makes much the same point as Lucilius' reference to 'creepy Lamias that figures such as Faunus and Numa instituted' (*terriculas Lamias, Fauni quas Pompiliique/ instituere Numae*): both authors point to the purposeful introduction of terrifying beliefs.[37] But Lucilius' Lamias are more immediate and more arbitrary than Polybius' 'inhabitants of Hades': Numa's dupes are not worried about what will happen to them in the afterlife if they behave badly in this life, but about whether—for no fault of their own—Lamia will steal their children while they sleep.[38] And whereas the historian later credits superstition, δεισιδαιμονία, with maintaining the coherence of the republic (6.56.7) and keeping Roman magistrates honest (6.56.14–15), Lucilius' speaker seems to be one of the 'moderns' mentioned by Polybius, someone aiming to banish belief in spooks.[39]

The mockery in our fragment takes it as axiomatic that rulers mislead their subjects and keep them in the dark—a scary dark at that—about their own

37 Dionysius' expression for the same point is even blander than that of Polybius: τὰ θεῖα δεδιότες (*Ant. Rom.* 2.61.1).

38 According to Diodorus (20.41) and Strabo (1.2.8) children were sometimes threatened with Lamia by their own mothers.

39 Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes a similar connection between a divinity 'instituted' as such by Numa, namely *Fides*, and Roman morality (*Ant. Rom.* 2.75.2–4).

intentions.[40] In the following section I suggest that the satirist's exposure of the rulers' machinations acquired resonance from a lively second-century controversy involving Numa and the politics of deception.[41] I refer, of course, to the discovery of books, allegedly by Numa, in 181 BCE, an incident discussed by at least three historians who wrote during the half-century before Lucilius.[42]

3 Numa in Second-Century BCE Rome

But before focusing in on the 'books' incident itself it will be worth considering briefly what is known about the tradition on Numa in the second century BCE. As we will see, Lucilius was writing against a layered and variegated background of associations: people 'knew' things about Numa, and their 'knowledge' was full of contradictions.

The narrative of the regal period in the earliest representatives of Roman historiography, Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, was 'summary,' κεφαλαιωδῶς, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.6.2) and no trace of Numa survives in their fragmentary remains.[43] In the earliest extant source, the *Annals* of Ennius, itself fragmentary, the period of Numa's reign is represented by four brief passages, one of which mentions Egeria, the rest of which pertain to religious foundations (*Ann.* 2.113–119 Skutsch); it is impossible to determine the scope or extent of the original narrative.[44] The prose annals that came next are even less well preserved, but even so they supply some details

40 The referee suggests that 'rulers' is too strong, and that "old-timey quasi-religious authorities we no longer respect" may be a better way to frame the target of the mockery. Possibly, but the line between political and religious authority is hard to draw for ancient Rome.

41 On 'exposure' as a Lucilian tactic see Hor. *S.* 2.1.62–65, esp. 64: *detrahere … pellem*.

42 And possibly by Ennius, as well. See Damon 2020.

43 Here and below the annalists—Pictor (*FRHist* 1), Cincius Alimentus (2), Cassius Hemina (6), Piso (9), Tuditanus (10), Gellius (14), Fenestella (70)—are cited from Cornell 2013.

44 See Damon 2020, 131–145. Skutsch 1985, 266 thinks that there was little to begin with ("Ennius obviously gave only a very brief catalogue of the institutions of King Numa") but Glaser 1936, 1244–1246, citing Ennius' status as a school author, suggests that many of the surviving stories about Numa appeared in the *Annals* and therefore show "wie reich an Einzelzügen das N[uma]-Bild schon zu des Ennius Zeit gewesen sein muss." On a tantalizing and difficult to date assertion by Ennius' patron M. Fulvius Nobilior (in his *Fasti*) that Numa added the months of January and February to the Romulean calendar see Rüpke 2006, 495–498 and recently Walther 2016, 226–230; the claim seems to have been reported and rebutted by the antiquarian M. Junius Congus Gracchanus, whom Lucilius in his first published book names as his ideal reader (595–596M); on Congus see Rankov 1987.

of Numa's second-century BCE portrait.[45] From Cassius Hemina, writing in the first half of the century, we learn about Numa's sacrificial offerings, specifically, how modest they were: grain and fish.[46] From L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, writing in the last third of the century, we learn that he ordained the opening of the gates of the Temple of Janus in wartime, that he called down thunderbolts from the sky, and that he died of old age after a mild illness.[47] Cn. Gellius, writing perhaps in the third quarter of the century, discussed Numa's institution of the fetial priests, a priesthood that was frequently called on to justify Rome's expansionist wars in the second century.[48] Gellius located Numa's model for this priesthood at Ardea, although claims were made for other sites, as well.[49] Gellius makes another controversial claim in stating that Numa's only child was a daughter, when the majority of sources available to Dionysius later on credited Numa with four sons as well, 'whose descendents,' says Dionysius, 'still survive.'[50] In fact, scanty as the source material is, we catch glimpses of several disputes; the fight for the legacy of Numa seems to have been fought on several fronts in the second century.[51]

A dispute with many ramifications concerned the source of Numa's wisdom: was he the self-reliant Sabine later depicted by Livy, whose institutions were devised *suopte … ingenio*, 'by his own intellect' (1.19.4), or had he been exposed to Greek thought? Of particular relevance to the topic of Numa's dark side is the question of his debt to Pythagoras.

Although it is nowhere attested explicitly in the surviving sources from the second century BCE, a robust tradition about a connection between Numa and Pythagoras must have existed then, robust enough to provoke repeated and indignant refutation in the first centuries BCE and CE, when the chronological framework of early Roman history had been put on a surer footing by Atticus, Varro, and others. In Lucilius' day the fog still seems to have been thick enough to support a tradition that Numa derived his wisdom from Pythago-

45 On the institutional and religious interests of these early historians see Sehlmeyer 2003.

46 Hemina F16 (grain), F17 (fish).

47 Piso F11–13. Piso may also have reported the wording of formulas used by the Vestals (F47).

48 See, e.g., Liv. 31.8.3, with Briscoe 1973, ad loc. and Wiedemann 1986.

49 Gel. F21.

50 Gel. F22, from D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 2.76.5. The sons are named at Plu. *Num.* 21.2–3. See Briscoe in *FRHist* ad loc. and in the places there cited for discussion of the dispute and Gellius' contrarian historiography.

51 Cf. Storchi Marino 1992, 137: "Peraltro proprio il II secolo è l'epoca in cui è vivo un dibattito sulla figura del re sabino e sulla sua opera tutt'altro che di natura antiquaria, ma che investe con evidenza aspetti politici e culturali."

ras.[52] Indeed according to Alfredina Storchi Marino, who has labored long and hard to pierce this fog, there were two traditions about the connection, one mediated through Samnium and emphasizing the political acumen Numa derived from the philosopher, the other mediated through Greek sources and emphasizing the religious teachings.[53] So when our satirist forced the two traditions together by giving a political motivation for a religious innovation, he might well have expected sparks to fly.

4 Numa's Books?

The debate about Numa's legacy came to a head in 181 BCE, when some striking relics of Rome's second king surfaced in Rome. Literally. The details are transmitted variously in the ancient sources, but the episode's outline is clear enough.[54] In the course of earth-moving operations on the Janiculum a burial was discovered containing grave goods subsequently identified as Numa's. The find included books purporting to have been written by Numa himself. These books were read, discussed in the senate, declared dangerous, and burned in public.[55]

The discovery seems to have generated a new interest in and debate about the 'facts' of Numa's reign. All of the second-century sources mentioned earlier were writing after the discovery, and as we will see, several of them mentioned it. The find may also have generated a new negavity about the pious and peace-loving king.[56] For the books' condemnation implies that they were declared

52 So Briscoe, *FRHist* 3.179. However, Storchi Marino 1992, 137 with nn. 155–156, suggests that the chronological impossibility of the connection might have been pointed out by Cato, or even by Timaeus, and Skutsch 1985, 263 asserts that Ennius must have been aware of it. If so, the facts seem not to have succeeded in imposing themselves on Ennius or other writers of the second century BCE.

53 Storchi Marino 1992, 138–139; 1999, *passim*. The two traditions align with the broader cultural debates about the relative merits of practical and theoretical wisdom discussed by Habinek 2006.

54 The ancient sources (Liv. 40.29.3–14, V. Max. 1.1.12, Plin. *Nat.* 13.84–87, Plu. *Num.* 22.2–8, Fest. 178 Lindsay, August. *C.D.* 7.34–35, Lactantius *Inst. Div.* 1.22.5–8, *vir. ill.* 3.2) are collected at Garbarino 1973, 1.65–69. Major discussions: Garbarino 1973, 2.221–244; Pailler 1988, 623–677; Gruen 1990, 163–170; Storchi Marino 1999, 163–216. Recent treatment with further bibliography can be found in *FRHist* on the accounts of Cassius Hemina (6 F35), Piso (9 F14), Tuditanus (10 F3), and Antias (25 F9a–b, F57).

55 See recently Howley 2017.

56 Storchi Marino 1992, 139: "… anche nella sottolineatura di una negatività di Numa, direttamente derivata dalla diversa utilizzazione politica del personaggio."

authentic—and dangerous.[57] Erich Gruen (1990, 170) describes the burning as "a form of exorcism," in fact.

The incident was a magnet for new issues over time[58] and involves many insoluble puzzles,[59] but a key issue in the second-century versions was the connection between philosophy and the traditions about Rome's foundation. According to Hemina, for example, Numa's books were destroyed 'because they were philosophical texts' (*quia philosophiae scripta essent*, F35).

Hemina specifies that the philosophy in question was Pythagorean (*in his libris scripta erant philosophiae Pythagoricae*, F35), a detail challenged by subsequent historians. Piso, for example, said that in addition to the Pythagorean books, seven in number, there were 'seven books of pontifical law' (*libros septem iuris pontificii*, F14). For Sempronius Tuditanus, writing (probably)[60] in the second half of the second century BCE, the books contained 'Numa's decrees' (*Numae decretorum* [sc. *libros fuisse*], F3); if he mentioned any philosophical material we do not hear about it from Pliny, who preserves these fragments in his discussion of papyrus (*Nat.* 13.84–87).

For the 'books' were in fact written on papyrus (*charta*, F35), and their material provided an opening for skepticism. It is already there in Hemina's account, the earliest. 'Some people,' he says, 'wondered how those books could have lasted' (*mirabantur alii quomodo illi libri durare possent*, F35). Hemina also reports the response. The scribe who found the books, he says, explained—from the outside in, as if replaying the discovery itself—the careful measures that had been taken to preserve them: inside the chest there was a stone. The stone was wrapped with waxed cords, and the books were on top of the stone. Furthermore, a preservative of citron-wood oil had been applied to the books themselves. Such is the rationale for believing the books authentic. But if you think this scribe sounds like he has been carefully coached, you are not alone.

57 *Pace* Forsythe 1994, 215 and Ogilvie 1965, 90, there is no evidence that the books were declared spurious in 181, although skepticism accrues to the tradition early on. Cf. Briscoe (*FRHist* commentary on Hemina F35): apart from Livy, "all other sources seem to accept that they were genuine, and the explanation of the senate's action in Hemina, Varro, and Plutarch makes sense only on that hypothesis."

58 Storchi Marino 1999, 168–181 reviews the sources from Hemina to Augustine in more detail than I can do here and provides bibliographic access to other discussions.

59 Storchi Marino 1999, 163: "Dell'episodio sappiamo tutto, meno che l'essentiale." She summarizes the main strands of interpretation. Briscoe (*FRHist* commentary on Hemina F35) urges caution: "we must simply suspend judgement."

60 The historian Tuditanus is often identified with the homonymous consul of 129 BCE, but Briscoe (*FRHist* 1.240–241) counsels caution.

Skeptics from antiquity to the present have worked diligently to understand the intent of the original imposture. Was it an attempt by philhellenes to give Greek credentials to Roman foundations? Or an effort at Pythagorean proselytizing? Or a plant by traditionalists to make it look like the philhellenes had attempted to give Greek credentials to Roman foundations? No consensus has been achieved about the particulars, but for our purposes it suffices to say that the Roman senate of 181 BCE is almost the only investigator to have gone on record in favor of the authenticity of Numa's writings on Pythagorean philosophy.[61]

5 Conclusions

The 'Numa books' incident revived the deep past—Rome's second king, Numa, and Italy's first philosopher, Pythagoras—at a moment of heightened attention to the competing claims of native and imported cultural practices. It also roused persistent suspicions about ideological machinations by the political elite. Given that Lucilius repeatedly presents us with characters and incidents caught in the act of engaging with Greek culture and the Greek language,[62] and that he projects a sturdily independent persona free of political ambition and political correctness,[63] it is easy to see, if not delimit, the potential relevance of the 'Numa books' incident to the *Satires*. According to Horace, unmasking frauds was one of Lucilius' satiric modes;[64] we catch a glimpse of it in our fragment about religious frauds perpetrated by 'figures such as Faunus and Numa.' And these frauds provide a mise-en-abyme effect for the 'Numa books' fraud: the second-century fraudsters were trying to manipulate their contemporaries' beliefs about … a founder figure who used fraud to manipulate his own contemporaries' beliefs.

61 On the implausible assertion by John Lydus (Lyd. *Ost.* 16A, p. 47 Wachsmuth) that Fulvius Nobilior quoted Numa's books see Rüpke 2006, 505–506 and recently Walther 2016, 226 ff.

62 Lucilius' attitude to Greek phenomena is complex. They are omnipresent in the world he reflects, and the Greek terms he often uses in talking about them are put to various uses: mockery, reference, polemic, display, and more; see Persyn 2019 and Chahoud 2004. By contrast with Numa's deterrent Lamias, they expand the satirist's range of expression; cf. Breed, Keitel, and Wallace 2018, 8: "The play of native elements vs. foreign imports is highly productive."

63 For a trenchant investigation of the collection's underlying values see Classen 1996. On the satirist's independence see, e.g., Goldberg 2005, 155–177.

64 See n. 41 above. Lucilius himself seems to claim (or rebut?) a more violent mode (1035M): *nunc, Gai, quoniam incilans nos laedis, uicissim.*

As we have seen, Lucilius collapses the two phases: frauds perpetrated by figures such as Numa affected not the primitive population of early Rome but his own second-century contemporaries. This was a century that saw a burst of antiquarian writings; Cato's *Origines* is just the tip of an iceberg of historical, juridical, and grammatical treatises that probed traditions about the Italian past for the back story of current institutions.[65] In mocking the infantilization of his fellow citizens Lucilius' speaker stands at odds with the inherently conservative motivation for such explorations. But there is no obvious political stance here: the speaker's argument is pragmatic, not philosophical, and his spook is a Greek spook with literary credentials.[66] With spooks and graves and bookburnings and frauds we are a long way from the squeaky-clean Numa with whom I began. Matthew Fox (2015, 181 and 190) credits the age of Cicero and Varro with inaugurating criticism of Numa's religious theatrics, but our fragment shows that the criticism found expression already in second century BCE.[67] By cloaking Numa in nocturnal shades the speaker—Lucilius himself or a surrogate—adopts the stance, or perhaps the pose, of the enlightened.[68]

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65 Rawson 1985, 233–234; Sehlmeyer 2003.

66 Cato is equally pragmatic when he advises the farm manager to take precautions against religious interference with rational farm management: *Agr*. 5.4: *haruspicem, augurem, hariolum, Chaldaeum nequem consuluisse uelit* (*sc. uilicus*).

67 On other second-century traces of what later came to be called 'political theology' see Rüpke 2005.

68 'Surrogates' is Goldberg's useful term for the unknowns who give voice in the fragments (2005, 170). On 'enlightenment' see (in the 'Somnia' section on Book 15) Krenkel 1970, 2.77: "1. Thema: Aberglauben. Mit der Aufklärung steht es in Rom nicht zum Besten, etc.".

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CHAPTER 6

The Astronomer-Poet at Night: The Evolution of a Motif

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1 Introduction

The constellations in the night sky, undimmed by light pollution, were a powerful presence in people's lives in antiquity, both practically useful and emotionally affecting. As such, they inspired a great deal of poetry, and this poetry has a special relationship with night itself, as the time when their subject matter is accessible, the time when the poet can personally experience the stars. How an astronomical poet depicts night and how he portrays his own relationship with it can reveal his outlook on his subject matter and on his poetry itself. This paper explores such depictions of the experience of the night in Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Callimachus' epigram about Aratus and its Roman imitators, and Manilius' *Astronomica*. For Aratus, the primary focus is not his own nocturnal behavior, but *yours*—as you, the reader/addressee, seek to learn about the universe. For Augustan poets, however, Aratus' own nocturnal activities become an emblem of Callimachean poetics. Manilius in turn reinvents night, not as a symbol of his work, but as a representation of the ignorance his poem will triumph over. The astronomer-poet's nocturnal activities thus evolve over time, as each poet adapts them to his own interests. Night can be illuminating; it can be baffling; it can reflect the entire range of emotions we feel about the wider cosmos we inhabit and how we put those feelings into poetry.

The image of the sleepless poet, awake all night working on his verses, is common in Roman poetry, and it is usually treated as a representation of Callimachean poetics, without any specification about the subject matter or genre of the poetry composed. The idea can be traced back to one epigram by Callimachus, however, which shows that, in its original form, it specifically refers to Aratus. There is an inherent tension in the use of this image for astronomical poetry, however. On the one hand, no genre of literature requires more time outside under the night sky, but on the other, the *labor* of writing good poetry with Callimachus' imprimatur demands an alternative use of the night.

The modern discourse about the epigram reveals a lot about how scholars have thought, if at all, about the use of nocturnal time in astronomical poetry.

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The poem is very difficult, in part because of textual discrepancies between the version in the *Palatine Anthology* and the versions of it preserved in the *vitae* of Aratus attributed to Theon of Alexandria and the grammarian Achilles.[1] These textual problems, exacerbated by the elliptical nature of the poem, have led to deep controversies about its meaning.[2] I provide below Pfeiffer's text, with an abridged version of his *apparatus criticus*, and one possible translation (*AP* 5.907 = *Ep.* 27 Pfeiffer):[3]

> The song and the style are from Hesiod. Not the ultimate poet, I dare say, but the sweetest of verses has the man from Soli imitated. Hail, fine words, symbol of Aratus' sleeplessness.

Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶν
  ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί
  ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης.

1 τόδ' AP (ἠσιόδουτοδ'), Achill. : τό τ' Blomfield | ἀοιδὸν AP, Achill. : ἀοιδῶν Scaliger (cf. hy. 1 68) 4 σύντονος ἀγρυπνίη AP : σύγγονος ἀγρυπνίης Achill., Theo (unde σύγγονοι ἀγρ. Scaliger) : σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης Ruhnken (epist. ad. Ernest. P. 16 Tittm.) coll. AP IX 689, 2 ἑῆς σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης et VI 328, 2 βύβλον … ἰσηρίθμου σύμβολον εὐεπίης

It is beyond the scope of this paper to litigate all of the debates about the text of this poem, especially the fraught first two lines. My focus is on the final two words, and on how Aratus' sleeplessness has been understood. The final word, ἀγρυπνίης, is uncontested, except for its case. The penultimate word is attested as σύντονος in the *Palatine Anthology* but σύγγονος in the *vitae* and, since Scaliger, has usually been emended to σύμβολον. In defending their use of σύμβολον, Gow and Page defend the word as a better fit, given that the phrase is in apposition to λεπταί ῥήσιες. They continue with their interpretation of the phrase: "Aratus's wakeful nights were spent rather in versifying Eudoxus than in observing the stars but C., though he probably thinks chiefly of the midnight oil, need not exclude star-gazing."[4] This has become the standard understand-

1 On the *vitae*, see Martin 1956, whose attributions are largely taken as plausible. See also Dickey 2007, 56–57; Kidd 1997, 44–48.

2 Gow and Page 1965, 2.208–209 presents the major issues; see also Pfeiffer 1953, 88; Lohse 1967; Cameron 1972; Bing 1992; Cameron 1995, 374–379, who provides much of the bibliography on the debate; Stewart 2008; Henkel 2011.

3 Pfeiffer 1953, 88. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

4 Gow and Page 1965, 209.

ing of the phrase: Callimachus is thinking primarily of nights spent at a writing desk, but there is nonetheless a hint at the astronomical subject matter of the poem.[5]

This is surely backwards. If Callimachus' reference to Aratus' sleeplessness was solely meant to praise his poetic craftsmanship, then he must have been drawing on an already-known trope of poetic nighttime *labor*, but there is no evidence that this is the case. The later, widespread use of the poetic motif obscures the fact that this epigram seems to be the first instance. No earlier mentions of sleeplessness due to poetic composition survive, although given the gaps in our knowledge of fourth- and early third-century poetry, this is hardly conclusive.[6] Before this epigram, the motif of erotic sleeplessness was very common in comedy and epigram, and Callimachus' innovation seems to be in attributing the sleeplessness to poetic composition rather than to lovesickness.[7] If this is the first instance of insomnia being associated with writing poetry, the astronomical connotation becomes inescapable. It requires too many logical leaps for Callimachus to invent a generic image of composing poetry at night and then to coincidentally use it for an astronomical poet. The sleeplessness begins as a direct reference to the astronomical subject matter of the *Phaenomena*, but in the context of the entire poem, it connects that to his poetics. It is Callimachus' way of making Aratus' astronomy an aesthetic enterprise. However Callimachus imagines Aratus spending his night, it is time well spent, because it results in such beautiful poetry.[8]

Gow and Page base their assumption of Callimachus' meaning on their own judgement of the *Phaenomena*. They cite the story that Aratus relied upon Eudoxus' astronomical treatises as evidence that he is not practicing observational astronomy himself.[9] In using their already established opinion on Aratus' methodology and expertise to interpret Callimachus' epigram, they are hardly unique. Cameron argues to retain the manuscript reading of σύντονος, which he

5 See, e.g., Possanza 2004, 88; Volk 2012, 225.

6 Stewart 2008, 594, cites the epitaph that Philetas allegedly wrote for himself as a part of this trope and it *could* predate Callimachus' epigram: ξεῖνε, Φιλητᾶς εἰμί. λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενός με / ὤλεσε καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἑσπέριοι ('Stranger, I am Philetas. The lying word and evening reflection at night killed me'). Although Athenaeus (Ath. 9.64) claims the poet wrote it himself, this is not generally accepted, and even if he had written it, his insomnia does not seem to be connected to his poetic composition. See Spanoudakis 2002, 69.

7 See Thomas 1979, esp. 195–200.

8 Tsantsanoglou 2009 argues that Callimachus' epigram is not complimentary to Aratus at all, but instead rather insulting, but this interpretation has not been widely accepted.

9 See above quotation from Gow and Page 1965, 209.

translates as 'severe': "Most people relax at night, but of course Aratus is looking at the stars, and does not."[10] In an innovative twist, Stewart argues for the same text as Cameron, but translates it as 'concision': "That the sleeplessness is concise in more than its relation to Homeric style is also wittily suggested by its being concise or curtailed: rather than studying the stars all night Aratus versified Eudoxus by day."[11] That is, for Stewart, Aratus' sleeplessness is concise; he is home in bed.

Each of these scholars has an opinion on Aratus' nighttime activity, one that is treated as self-evident and used to justify their version of the text. But they all three start from different assumptions. What then was Aratus doing at night: composing his poetry, looking at the stars, or sleeping? The poet's nighttime activities are not simply a mundane detail. What we assume he prioritized is what we prioritize in his work, and our interpretation of the *Phaenomena* hinges on our conception of its relationship to the night.

2 Light from Darkness

Nighttime is important in the *Phaenomena*, but the poem does not tell us how its author spent his. He does not depict himself either writing poetry or observing the stars, although this is hardly marked, because the presence of his persona in the poem is very minimal.[12] Of the relatively few intrusions of the poet, the two most prominent are his invocation of the Muses and his *recusatio* of the planets, which may be a coy allusion to a separate work on the subject.[13] Together, these passages subtly construct a poetic persona, one emphasizing his artistic craft and perhaps trusting the reader to know his other works.[14] Beyond this, however, Aratus provides no information about how he spent his nights. Instead, throughout the poem, astronomical observation by other people, including the addressee, is depicted over and over.

10 Cameron 1995, 379.

11 Stewart 2008, 596.

12 In the proem, the famous opening ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα (Arat. 1) sets the tone for later uses of first-person plural verbs (Arat. 298; 769) to describe the experience of humanity as a collective. The only first-person singular verb occurs in a Homeric formula, οὔ σε μάλ' οἴω (Arat. 198). Kidd 1997, 239 and 256 interprets this, and the handful of first-person pronouns (Arat. 17, 154, 413, 460), to indicate the poet's particular interest in the subject at hand.

13 Arat. 17, 460. On the possibility of a work about the planets and the *recusatio*'s relationship to it, see Kidd 1997, 345–346; Ludwig 1963.

14 On Aratus' persona, see Semanoff 2006a.

The *Phaenomena* is a poem about signs in the natural world, and Aratus repeatedly enjoins the addressee to look around and find those signs.[15] Most of the signs he presents are only visible at night: all the astronomical signs and many meteorological signs from the moon, comets, and certain constellations. There are even signs that occur in the vagaries of the fire from a lamplight.[16] The *Phaenomena* is a poem that takes place at night and explores our process of finding these signs in the night, even when it is not saying so explicitly.

In fact, night is perhaps a necessary precondition for the observation of signs more generally. In the description of the Maiden constellation, Aratus provides a retelling of the Myth of Ages from Hesiod's *Works and Days* that explains why we need signs to survive today.[17] The focus of the story is the Maiden, who acts as a sign for humans and gradually retreats from them as they progress through the metallic races. In the Golden Age, all of her actions seem to take place during the day: ἀγειρομένη δὲ γέροντας / ἠέ που εἰν ἀγορῇ ἢ εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν ἀγυιῇ, / δημοτέρας ἤειδεν ἐπισπέρχουσα θέμιστας ('Assembling the chieftains either in the market-place or in the wide-wayed avenue, she sang them communal laws and encouraged them,' Arat. 105–107. Text is from Kidd 1997). In the Silver Age, she only comes out at twilight: ἤρχετο δ' ἐξ ὀρέων ὑποδείελος ἠχηέντων / μουνάξ, οὐδέ τεῳ ἐπεμίσγετο μειλιχίοισιν ('She would come down alone from the echoing mountains in the evening [ὑποδείελος], but she did not mix with anyone favorably anymore,' 118–119). In her final form as a constellation, she shines out during the night: Καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν / ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη, ταύτην δ' ἄρα νάσσατο χώρην, / ἧχί περ ἐννυχίη ἔτι φαίνεται ἀνθρώποισι / Παρθένος ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα πολυσκέπτοιο Βοώτεω ('And Dike, hating this race of men [the Bronze], flew up into the heavens and settled there, where even still she shines all night [ἐννυχίη] for mankind, near far-seen Bootes,' 133–136). As she retreats from the people, day turns into night.[18] The passage culminates in the image of the Maiden constellation shining out all night in the sky. The Maiden, as a sign, may once have been available to us during the day, but, in the world we live in now, even she is only visible at night.

It has been proposed that Aratus' descriptions of the constellations are in fact an ecphrasis of an armillary sphere, and not based on actual observation of the stars.[19] But often, Aratus refers to the environmental conditions of the

15 On the centrality of signs to Aratus' poem, see especially Volk 2010 and 2012.

16 Arat. 1037–1053.

17 This most famous passage and its thematic significance have been discussed extensively; see esp. Van Noorden 2015, 168–203 and Gee 2013, 24–35 for recent interpretations.

18 This pattern is noted in Schwabl 1972, 347; Kidd 1997, 230.

19 This is most famously posited in Erren 1967, 101–151, but the idea that Aratus is envisioning

observations he details, and emphasizes that these signs are intrinsically connected to the night sky. This is especially clear in his beautiful description of the Milky Way (Arat. 469–478):

> If ever, when the night is clear, and heavenly Night displays all the brilliant stars to mankind, and because of the new month's moon, none is borne along faintly, but they all shine out sharply through the darkness, if ever at that time wonder should come into your mind as you study the heavens halved all around by a wide circle, or else if someone standing near you should point out that wheel splashed with eyes—they call it Milk—no circle similar in color revolves in the sky.
>
> Εἴ ποτέ τοι νυκτὸς καθαρῆς, ὅτε πάντας ἀγαυοὺς
> ἀστέρας ἀνθρώποις ἐπιδείκνυται οὐρανίη Νύξ,
> οὐδέ τις ἀδρανέων φέρεται νεόμηνι σελήνῃ,
> ἀλλά τά γε κνέφαος διαφαίνεται ὀξέα πάντα,
> εἴ ποτέ τοι τημόσδε περὶ φρένας ἵκετο θαῦμα
> σκεψαμένῳ πάντῃ κεκεασμένον εὐρέϊ κύκλῳ
> οὐρανόν, ἤ καί τίς τοι ἐπιστὰς ἄλλος ἔδειξεν
> κεῖνο περιγληνὲς τροχαλόν, Γάλα μιν καλέουσιν.
> Τῷ δή τοι χροιὴν μὲν ἀλίγκιος οὐκέτι κύκλος
> δινεῖται.

This passage encapsulates many of the major themes of Aratus' conception of night. He focuses on the experience of the addressee, outside looking at the sky, alone or with a guide. The guide is secondary, however, because you can always look at the night sky for yourself, and θαῦμα arises when you do. The prompt for this observation of the Milky Way transcends the rational need to predict the weather or mark the time. There is a human awe of the night that is instinctual and emotional.

There is also a symbiotic relationship between the night and us. The personified night displays the stars *for us* (ἀνθρώποις, 470). She is depicted actively attempting to provide information to us. Aratus uses the same verb for the human guide (ἐπιδείκνυται, 470; ἔδειξεν, 475), because their actions are funda-

a work of art rather than the sky itself is hinted at already in Kaibel 1894, 87: "Arat giebt eine Beschreibung (ἔκφρασις) des Sternenhimmels, und er kann kaum anders als den Himmel wie eine grosse mit Figuren aller Art bemalte Tafel auffassen." Volk 2013, 108 calls the theory "quite likely." See also Kaibel 1894, 91; Volk 2012, 217; Semanoff 2006b; and Kidd 1997, 17 for ancient evidence that Eudoxus had access to an armillary sphere.

mentally analogous. Night is your first guide to finding the signs that Zeus has created for us.

Night plays a similar role in another passage, where she presents the Altar constellation for us, a constellation that is only briefly visible (Arat. 408–419):

> But even so, primeval Night, lamenting the struggle of mankind, has placed around that Altar a great sign of maritime storms. For wrecked ships are upsetting to her, and pitying men buffeted by many waves, she reveals different signs at different times. Pray then, I say, when at sea, that this star does not appear in the mid-sky, overarched by surrounding clouds, itself unclouded and bright, but rather that it is high up, stifled by swollen clouds, the kind often compressed by a late summer northerly wind. For often Night herself designs this as a sign of the south wind, giving aid to troubled sailors.

> Ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ περὶ κεῖνο Θυτήριον ἀρχαίη Νύξ,
> ἀνθρώπων κλαίουσα πόνον, χειμῶνος ἔθηκεν
> εἰναλίου μέγα σῆμα· κεδαιόμεναι γὰρ ἐκείνῃ
> νῆες ἀπὸ φρενός εἰσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα πιφαύσκει
> σήματ', ἐποικτείρουσα πολυρροθίους ἀνθρώπους.
> Τῷ μή μοι πελάγει νεφέων εἰλυμένον ἄλλων
> εὔχεο μεσσόθι κεῖνο φανήμεναι οὐρανῷ ἄστρον,
> αὐτὸ μὲν ἀνέφελόν τε καὶ ἀγλαόν, ὕψι δὲ μᾶλλον
> κυμαίνοντι νέφει πεπιεσμένον, οἷά τε πολλὰ
> θλίβετ' ἀναστέλλοντος ὀπωρινοῦ βορέαο.
> Πολλάκι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο νότῳ ἔπι σῆμα τιτύσκει
> Νὺξ αὐτή, μογεροῖσι χαριζομένη ναύτῃσιν.

This passage makes clear that Aratus sees Night as a beneficent force in our lives, repeatedly stressing her good will in the signs she provides. She is anthropomorphic and emotionally invested in the fate of humans. There is a playful juxtaposition here between the seen and unseen: the only briefly visible Altar is nonetheless a μέγα σῆμα (410), and it provides signs both when clear and when obscured by clouds.

This contrast between light and dark, between visible and obscured, is also central to the Milky Way description (above). Aratus has a particular interest in the relative visibility of signs, and he almost always discusses the brightness or faintness of a constellation. The Milky Way passage is unique, however, in the concentration of references. It is introduced by four separate clauses describing the conditions of its observation. Words describing brilliance and visibility

(ἀγαυοὺς, ἐπιδείκνυται, διαφαίνεται, περιγληνὲς) alternate with words associated with darkness (ἀδρανέων, νεόμηνι σελήνῃ, κνέφαος; 469–472, 476). In a pointed demonstration of the focus of the passage, a typical Aratean wordplay emerges in the phrase κνέφαος διαφαίνεται (472). Aratus embeds the word φάος in the word κνέφαος, a literal light shining through the darkness. The choice of a non-standard genitive form for κνέφας calls attention to the wordplay.[20] The words on the page mirror the phenomenon he is describing.

A second play on brightness and its connection to seeing is present in the untranslatable word περιγληνὲς (476), for which LSJ suggests 'having eyes all around.'[21] A γλήνη is, most precisely, an eyeball, although occasionally it is used metonymically for the eye (e.g., S. *OT* 1277), and Aratus uses the related word γλήνεα ('gaudy baubles') once, in reference to the stars (Arat. 318). Here, it is used to explain the etymology of the Milky Way's name, but by choosing this word, instead of γλῆνος, Aratus connects the whiteness of the band of stars specifically to the act of seeing. They are eyes looking down, just as we look up at them. This wordplay centers on the contrast between darkness and light, and the centrality of night in this passage underscores the fact that it is essential for us to see them. Night both illuminates the stars and draws us out to look at them. She is the binding force in this symbiotic relationship between the cosmos, which provides signs, and humans, who need to look for those signs.

Visibility is at the core of Night's role in this relationship. The very first condition, the introduction to the entire passage, is νυκτὸς καθαρῆς (469). Everything is predicated on a clear night. It is not an unusual phrase, but its use here is marked. The word καθαρός appears frequently in the *Phaenomena* and is a key word for Aratus' poetics.[22] It is typically used, however, to describe things that are bright, such as constellations or the moon.[23] Here, the night is not bright per se, but it enables brightness.

Aratus specifies a clear night in one other place, his description of the Orion constellation (Arat. 322–325):

20 LSJ s.v. κνέφας. On Aratus' occasionally marked use of rare and new words, see Kidd 1997, 24–26.

21 LSJ s.v. περιγλενάομαι.

22 On the possibly Callimachean undertones of this word, in the context of the acrostic, see Hunter 2008, 63; Kidd 1997, 446.

23 Other than the night in the two passages described here, the following things are described as clear: Helice: Arat. 40; the constellations more generally: 383, 1013; the north wind: 507; the sea: 729; the moon: 783, 802; the sun: 825; mountain peaks: 990.

> At an angle to the fragment of the Bull lies Orion himself. Whoever misses him revolving up high on a clear night can trust that he will never observe anything more prominent when he looks at the heavens.
>
> Λοξὸς μὲν Ταύροιο τομῇ ὑποκέκλιται αὐτὸς
> Ὠρίων. Μὴ κεῖνον ὅτις καθαρῇ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
> ὑψοῦ πεπτηῶτα παρέρχεται, ἄλλα πεποίθοι
> οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδὼν προφερέστερα θηήσεσθαι.

Again Aratus connects a clear night with the ease of observing a constellation, and emphasizes the visual component, using both εἰσανιδὼν and θηήσεσθαι (325). Even Orion is only visible if there are no clouds in front of him. Once again, even though the night itself is not bright, its clarity is necessary for the observation of the stars.

In the Milky Way passage we see the confluence of two core ideas: the beneficence of Night in showing us signs, and the necessity of a clear night for observing them. In both, her role in observation is stressed. Nocturnal darkness is unique. The darkness of clouds occludes our ability to find signs, whereas the darkness of night enhances that ability: it illuminates. The wordplay in the phrase κνέφαος διαφαίνεται is doubly significant because it is literally a light that is engendered out of darkness, just like the stars themselves in the dark sky.

Aratus cultivates a very specific idea of nocturnal activity, one that is grounded in its value for observation. It is not unreasonable to think of the poet himself outside with a dioptron, even though we are never shown such an image, and the presence of the poet is limited. However the poet truly spent his evenings, night is, in the *Phaenomena*, when the signs in the universe are revealed, a time when darkness leads to illumination. Even though night is the time when you go and look for signs, there is no conflict with one's poetic craftsmanship, possibly because the idea of the sleepless poet hadn't been invented yet. And although modern scholars may try to pin down a specific meaning in Callimachus' poem, the epigram, like so many of the genre, is effortlessly polysemous, allowing for a wide range of meanings and inviting speculation on the many reasons Aratus may have stayed awake.

3 Sleepless in Soli

Callimachus' poem left an indelible impression on the Roman poets who read and imitated Aratus, and in their reuse of the idea it becomes associated with

poetic composition more generally, but never entirely loses its Aratean connotation.[24] The epigram became very popular in the first century BCE, just as several poets undertook to translate the *Phaenomena* into Latin.[25] Callimachus' poem became a central part of Roman poets' engagement with Aratus, as can be seen in Cinna's epigram: *Haec tibi Arateis multum invigilata lucernis / carmina, quis ignis novimus aetherios* ('[I have brought] these late-night songs, made by Aratean lamps, from which we learn about the heavenly fires,').[26] This may be a covering poem for an edition of Aratus' *Phaenomena* or for a Latin translation of it, perhaps by Cinna himself.[27] There are therefore two possibilities for who has stayed up sleepless to write his poem, Aratus or Cinna, but either way, the Callimachean influence is clear.

A similar idea is present in Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, where the poet unambiguously presents himself laboring at night on his work: *sed tua me virtus … / … inducit noctes vigilare serenas / quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum / clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti* ('Your excellence … leads me to stay up on calm nights seeking by what words and what song I might in fact be able to disclose the bright lights for your mind,' Lucr. 1. 140–145). This also seems to be borrowed from Callimachus, perhaps via Cinna, since he also uses *vigilare*.[28] The allusion comes immediately after Lucretius laments the difficulty of translating Greek texts into Latin, referring not just to his own work with Epicurus' writings, but perhaps also to the proliferation of *Aratea*.[29] He specifies his sleeplessness during *noctes serenas*, nicely tying the idea of astronomical observation to Epicurean *ataraxia*.[30] There is, for Lucretius, more than one type of clarity available during the night.

In the *Georgics*, Virgil continues the trend, in a passage about a man carving torches: *et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignis / peruigilat ferroque faces inspicat acuto* ('A man stays up to the late lights of winter fires, and sharpens

24 On the proliferation of this idea in Roman literature, see also Ferriss-Hill in this volume.

25 See Possanza 2004, 1–16; Gee 2013, 60–66; Lewis 1992 on Roman translation and reception of Aratus.

26 Cf. Courtney 1993, fr. 11.1–2 = Hollis 2007, fr. 13. On the connection between this poem and Callimachus' epigram, see Henkel 2011, 180–181; Gee 2013, 65 and 255, n. 23; Lewis 1992, 97–98.

27 On the question of the authorship of the poem described (Aratus or Cinna), see Feeney 2012, 36; Hutchinson 1988, 298.

28 See Gee 2013, 65; Henkel 2011, 181 on connections between this passage and the Callimachean epigram.

29 On Lucretius' use of Aratus, see Gee 2013, 81–109.

30 I am grateful to the anonymous reader who suggested this.

torches to a point with a keen knife,' *G*. 1.291–292).[31] Henkel reads *inspicat*, a hapax, as a reference to the star Spica, which, Aratus tells us (using the Greek name Στάχυς), the Maiden holds in her hand.[32] This reading requires that the motif of sleeplessness in a metapoetic context—even a metaphorical one—is tied to Aratus specifically, and not to a more generic Callimachean aesthetic of polished, learned poetry. It is an impressively telescoping window-reference: Virgil alluding to Lucretius and Cinna, both imitating Callimachus, describing Aratus.

These references show that the image of the sleepless poet spreads through Latin poetry, but it is never completely dissociated from Aratus. It seems clear that all of these poets see the primary nocturnal activity as poetic creation. Cinna tells us that we learn about the stars from the *carmina*, Lucretius explicitly spends his night on words, and Virgil's torch-carver focuses his attention on his creation, on the artificial lights he is making. Nevertheless, the repeated references to fire and light allude to the content of the *Phaenomena*. In these passages, insomnia is emblematic of the *doctus poeta*, but it only works because the association with stargazing makes their nighttime activity germane.

4 Long Night's Journey into Day

Manilius therefore inherits two separate traditions about what the astronomer-poet should do with his night. He has read Aratus and the earlier Roman poets discussed above very carefully, and is fully immersed in Augustan poetics.[33] Moreover, unlike Aratus, he is happy to be quite present in his poem, opening each book with a lengthy prologue in which he figures prominently.[34] We might therefore expect him to ostentatiously document his own nighttime activities, or at least to nod to the motif of sleeplessness.

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31 This passage of the *Georgics* as a part of the sleeplessness motif is argued for in Henkel 2011.

32 Henkel 2011, 184–186; Arat. 97.

33 On Manilius' relationship with Aratus, Lucretius, and Virgil, the three most important influences on the *Astronomica*, see Volk 2009, 182–197; Gale 2011; Hübner 2005 on Aratus specifically. On the role of Aratea in Manilius' work see Colborn 2013; Gee 2013, 116–118, although she claims he only knows Aratus through Latin translations and that is surely wrong.

34 On Manilius' persona in the poem, see Neuburg 1993; Volk 2002, 196–245, where she states that Manilius "to an even greater extent than any of the other extremely self-conscious didactic poems ... abounds in explicit self-referential reflections on the poet's activity and the principles of his work" (197).

Instead, the central role of night in the *Astronomica* is as a counterbalance to day. The vast majority of references to night, and of uses of the word *nox* in the poem, are in passages in which day and night are presented as opposites. This is reflected, to cite one example, in his discussion about how the length of day and night change from the winter solstice until the summer solstice (Man. 3.465–481):[35]

> The divisions of time begin to increase with one sixth; the next constellation triples that value and the last doubles it. And so the sum total is returned to the days, and the nights, evened out, are released from debt again and begin to yield passing time to the days from their own allotment according to the opposite rule … At that time night is equal to a winter's day, the long day to the duration of night, and returns by the same sequence as it had grown.

> *incipit a sexta tempus procedere parte*
> *dividuum; triplicant vires haerentia signa*
> *ultimaque acceptas duplicant. ita summa diebus*
> *redditur, aequatae solvuntur faenore noctes*
> *rursus et incipiunt propria de sorte diebus*
> *cedere diversa labentia tempora lege …*
> *tumque diem brumae nox aequat, tempora noctis*
> *longa dies, similique redit, quam creverat, actu.*

Even in the variation of their lengths over the course of the year, Manilius stresses the balance of the two, using *aequat* to underscore their connection. Almost every reference to night in the poem is within these depictions of night and day in balanced opposition, evoking the larger themes of the poem about the order and structure of the cosmos and Manilius' interest in mathematics.[36]

This rather limited role for night, which offers it no special place in either our knowledge of astronomy or poetic inspiration, is rather surprising. We might attribute it, at least in part, to the subject matter of his poem. Unlike the subject matter of the *Phaenomena*, a good deal of astrology can be performed during

35 All translations of Manilius are my own, made in consultation with and using the text of Goold 1977.

36 On the former, see Volk 2009, 18–23. The heavily mathematical nature of the poem has been recognized since Housman 1903–1930, 2.xiii, who gave Manilius the backhanded compliment for "that eminent aptitude for doing sums in verse." See Kennedy 2011 for the larger significance of that mathematical texture to the poem as a whole. On the regularity of night and day in philosophical contexts, see in this volume Joosse and Edmonds.

the day, and so the experience of night and the observation of the sky are less essential for Manilius than for Aratus.[37]

Rather than using the image of the sleepless poet, however, Manilius' discussion of his poetic *labor* emphasizes the length of time needed for his work (Man. 1.113–117):

> This work rises for me, not immortalized by any other songs before. May fortune look kindly upon my work, and may a long life reach a soft old age so that I may be able to bring forth such a weighty subject, and to traverse large matters and small ones with the same care.
>
> *Hoc mihi surgit opus non ullis ante sacratum*
> *carminibus. faveat magno fortuna labori,*
> *annosa et molli contingat vita senecta,*
> *ut possim rerum tantas emergere moles*
> *magnaque cum parvis simili percurrere cura.*

The verb *surgit* has a vaguely astronomical connotation, but, of course, the sun also rises, so even in this slight nod to the content of his work, a nocturnal association is not necessarily present.[38] Manilius comments frequently on his poetic enterprise, borrowing a number of Callimachean *topoi*, most notably the image of Homer as the river from which all other poetry flows and the metaphor of his own poem as journey or chariot.[39] But again, Manilius' nighttime activity remains unaccounted for. It is possible then that he is intentionally avoiding this trope, perhaps because of its strong association with his predecessor Aratus.

His own activities at night are never described with more detail than when he claims that he is singing *to* the sky: *sed caelo noscenda canam, mirantibus astris / et gaudente sui mundo per carmina vatis* ('I shall sing the things to learn to the sky, while the stars marvel and the universe rejoices in the songs of its own poet,' Man. 2.141–142). This sounds like it must be a nocturnal poetic performance if the stars are in the audience, but it comes in the midst of a passage

37 As Volk 2013, 109 says: "the *Astronomica* is not so much concerned with the exegetical skills we might employ to make sense of the situation in the sky, but rather with the ways in which we are implicated in this situation. We are not so much reading a cosmic text as being inextricably woven into it."

38 Thanks to Ineke Sluiter for pointing out the potential significance of *surgit*. See also Volk 2002, 233.

39 On the chariot metaphor in the *Astronomica*, see Lühr 1969, 73–82; Volk 2002, 225–234; Volk 2003. On the water metaphor (Man. 2.1–11), Volk 2009, 201–204.

in which the metaphor of the chariot journey through the skies is operative. He describes himself driving in an orbit in space (*vacuo veluti vectatus in orbe*, 2.138), where he can carry his song to the stars (*ad sidera … ferre*, 2.136–137). Manilius' depiction of his performance is strikingly atemporal; even if the stars are visible while he performs, he does not depict this as a nocturnal event, and he certainly does not mention any loss of sleep.

The lack of any special position for night in the *Astronomica* emerges especially when Manilius directly engages with the *Phaenomena*. Aratus famously avoided any discussion of astrology in the *Phaenomena*, but because Manilius begins with first principles and a basic introduction to astronomy, Aratus is an important source for him.[40] Much of the first book of the *Astronomica* covers the same material as, and is indebted to, the *Phaenomena*.[41] Manilius uses a revision of the Milky Way passage, discussed above, to reflect on his relationship to Aratus and the Latin tradition of *Aratea* (Man. 1.701–717):

> It does not have to be sought. Sighted, it falls upon the eyes themselves of its own will and it teaches itself and compels them to make note of it. For its orbit shines, glittering in the dark blue sky, as if it were about to send forth the day by opening up the heavens. Just as a path divides the green fields, a path which the circular journey wears away, recreating it with constant dragging, […] or, as a channel grows white where the keel creates a furrow and, while the waves foam, the upsurge admits a path which the rolling whirlpool stirs up from the disturbed abyss, just so a white path shines in the black heavens, cleaving the dark blue sky with a giant light. And just as Iris arcs her rainbows through the clouds, so also that white path overhangs the demarcated apex and makes the faces of mortals turn upwards, as they wonder at the strange lights through the blind night, and with a human heart seek its divine causes.

nec quaerendus erit: visus incurrit in ipsos
sponte sua seque ipse docet cogitque notari.
namque in caeruleo candens nitet orbita mundo
ceu missura diem subito caelumque recludens,
ac veluti viridis discernit semita campos
quam terit assiduo renovans iter orbita tractu.
[*inter divisas aequabilis est via partes*]

40 It is often theorized that Aratus avoided astrology because of Eudoxus' strong condemnation of it, see Kidd 1997, 345–346.

41 See Volk 2002, 199.

ut freta canescunt sulcum ducente carina,
accipiuntque viam fluctus spumantibus undis
quam tortus verso movit de gurgite vertex,
candidus in nigro lucet sic limes Olympo
caeruleum findens ingenti lumine mundum.
utque suos arcus per nubila circinat Iris,
sic super incumbit signato culmine limes
candidus et resupina facit mortalibus ora,
dum nova per caecam mirantur lumina noctem
inquiruntque sacras humano pectore causas.

This is clearly modeled on the passage in the *Phaenomena*, but it is interrupted midway by a series of similes comparing the Milky Way to a path through fields and a water channel, both common metapoetic metaphors in Augustan poetry and closely related to Manilius' ongoing depiction of his own poem as a journey or chariot. Here, we can read the Milky Way as a metaphor for Aratus' *Phaenomena*. The track worn away by constant dragging evokes the numerous translations of the *Phaenomena* that had been published by this point.[42] Manilius uses his similes both to acknowledge the fact that Aratean retreads were quite popular already and also to claim originality for his own work.[43]

The passage contains numerous allusions to the analogous passage in the *Phaenomena*, and recreates the interplay between light and dark. Manilius translates κνέφαος διαφαίνεται (Arat. 472) literally, *candidus in nigro lucet* (Man. 1.710), retaining the image, but losing the wordplay. In contrast to the careful recreation of Aratus' image there, he notably changes one major thing in the passage as a whole: the agency that draws our gaze. No longer does Night herself display the stars for us, but instead, the Milky Way now compels us to look: *resupina facit mortalibus ora* (715). The only reference to a personified night at all describes her as *caeca*. It is no longer the night that is helping us see the signs, but the sign itself. Night has changed from an illuminating presence to an obscuring one. Not only is she herself blind, but the force of the Milky Way is described as if it were diurnal (*missura diem*, 704). Visibility is specifically associated with daytime.

42 It is worth noting that the most complete translation (pre-Avienus) that survives, Germanicus' *Aratea*, cannot be conclusively dated relative to Manilius' *Astronomica*. See Colborn 2013, for one suggestion of their relationship.

43 Manilius' claims to originality in the *Astronomica* are quite prevalent; see Volk 2009, 197–215.

This is not the only place in the *Astronomica* where night in connected with difficulty in astronomical observation. Manilius often implies that observation of the night sky will only create confusion and doubt. A lunar eclipse, although demonstrating that the earth is round, is still deceptive: *te testem dat, luna, sui glomeraminis orbis / quae, cum mersa nigris per noctem deficis umbris, / non omnis pariter confundis sidere gentes* ('The earth offers you, Moon, as a witness of its sphericity, you who, when you are eclipsed by dark shadows in the night, do not confuse all peoples equally with your star,' 1.221–222). Observing the inner planets is equally problematic: *sicut Cyllenius orbis / et Venus, accenso cum ducit vespere noctem, / saepe latent falluntque oculos rursusque revisunt* ('Just so do the sphere of the Cyllenian and Venus, when she guides the night with the evening star ablaze, often hide and trick the eyes and then reappear again,' 1.871–873). Even in his discussion of Orion, the notoriously bright constellation that Aratus claims is easiest to see, Manilius depicts the night as mendacious: *quo fulgente super terras caelumque trahente / ementita diem nigras nox contrahit alas* ('When he shines, drawing the sky over the lands, the night draws in its black wings and pretends to be the day,' 5.59–60). In each of these cases, there is a reference to observing the sky, to night, and to deception.[44] The misleading confusion of the night is marked, not only because night is so rarely mentioned, but also because so much of the poem is dedicated to how orderly the universe is and how much humans understand it.[45]

By connecting the night with confusion, he is able to use it as a metaphor for ignorance, in contrast to day, which operates as a symbol of knowledge. In the first prologue, Manilius gives a narrative of humanity's development out of terror and ignorance, and among the things they do not initially understand are 'the varying days and the uncertain times of night' (*variosque dies incertaque noctis / tempora*, 1.70–71).[46] After they began to learn, however, humans developed the ability 'to turn day into night, to turn night into day' (*in noctemque dies, in lucem vertere noctes*, 1.94). The same fluctuation of day and night that Manilius will later use to celebrate the perfect rationality of the cosmos is here presented as an example of how knowledge about the cosmos leads to control over it. For Manilius, the information he is presenting is nothing less than cosmic imperium.

Manilius discards Aratus' clever play on night as a special kind of darkness, because observation of the night sky is not a central feature of his subject.

44 On the deceptive behavior of signs more generally, see Volk 2013, 110.

45 Volk 2002, 196–245, esp. 204–205; Volk 2013, 103.

46 This passage seems to be a direct response to Lucretius' claim that in the earliest stages of mankind, humans did not fear the night (Lucr. 5.973–981).

Instead, for Manilius, night is a representation of all kinds of obscurity, and is used as a metaphor for lack of knowledge. If the *Phaenomena* is a nocturnal poem, the *Astronomica* takes place at a kind of conceptual dawn, as humans have finally triumphed over their nighttime ignorance and have arrived into the bright light of knowledge.

5 Conclusion

The image of the poet laboring over his verses late into the night is a famous one in Roman poetry, but, despite its more general use for Callimachean aesthetics, it always retains an Aratean flavor. This image is far more famous, but perhaps less interesting, than the way astronomer-poets themselves depicted the night. For Aratus, night is a special kind of darkness, one that actively cares for mortals and promotes our ability to see signs in the night sky. For Manilius, night is still associated with observation, but is no longer a symbol of clarity. It is obfuscating and confusing, and cannot produce knowledge. Night is a truly Protean phenomenon in astronomical poetry, always changing, always fascinating, never simple.

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PART 3

Society and Gender: Men and Women at Work, by Night

CHAPTER 7

A Night Attack in the *Seven Against Thebes*

Isabella Reinhardt

1 Introduction

A city lies surrounded on all sides by an invading force. The citizens within know that the enemy waits outside, but they cannot see them. Panic grows as the noises of the army reach the citizens, fueling frightened speculation, until the women rush to supplicate the city gods in a frenzy of terror. So begins the parodos of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, as the chorus enters singing their wild dochmiacs. But already, one aspect of the story is unclear. Can the chorus see the Argive army? The language of the parodos suggests that they cannot, that they only hear the sound of the army. What prevents them? The walls of the city may be partly responsible for the chorus' inability to see, but I would like to suggest an additional cause: darkness. Night keeps the chorus from seeing the enemy as they muster around the gates of Thebes.

It is usually agreed, inasmuch as it is discussed at all, that the action of the *Seven Against Thebes* occurs during the day. Familiarity with the conventions of Greek tragedy leads us to assume a daytime setting, but the language of the play never actually indicates this. Unlike the *Agamemnon* or Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Antigone*, in which the text clearly indicates that the action of the drama begins either at dawn or shortly before it, the *Seven* contains no specific mention of the time of day, and very little reference to either darkness or light. Nevertheless, several passages in the first half of the play suggest that events may be unfolding at night. A remark about the planning of the attack, the chorus' anticipation of nighttime terrors, and the scout's description of his mission all hint at events unfolding in darkness. These intimations of night are never concrete enough to establish a definite setting in time, but they heighten a sense of claustrophobia and impending doom and emphasize the vulnerability of the besieged city. The play is generally vague about its temporal setting; this enables night to function as a thematic device, employed selectively to undermine the legitimacy of Polynices' attack on Thebes, to deepen a theme of knowledge and interpretation, and to link the anticipated fall of Thebes to the fall of Troy, thereby conditioning our understanding of the action as a whole.

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2 Intimations of Night

The first indication of time in the *Seven* appears in the prologue, as Eteocles addresses the citizens of Thebes (*Th.* 21–29):[1]

> And now up to this day, the god is inclining favorably. For although we are blockaded in these walls, the war is going well for the most part, thanks to the gods. Now the prophet, herdsman of birds, observing with his ears and mind the oracular birds with infallible skill, without use of fire, this lord of such prophecy says that the Argives are discussing by night a great attack and plotting against the city.[2]

> καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τόδ' ἦμαρ εὖ ῥέπει θεός·
> χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη τόνδε πυργηρουμένοις
> καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ.
> νῦν δ' ὡς ὁ μάντις φησίν, οἰωνῶν βοτήρ,
> ἐν ὠσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν πυρὸς δίχα
> χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας ἀψευδεῖ τέχνῃ—
> οὗτος τοιῶνδε δεσπότης μαντευμάτων
> λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιΐδα
> νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κἀπιβουλεύειν πόλει.

The Argives are 'night-planning' an attack, νυκτηγορεῖσθαι (29), a compound which only appears here and in the *Rhesus* (89), the sole extant Greek tragedy to have been explicitly set at night.[3] The verb νυκτηγορέω tells us that the attack is planned at night, not that it will necessarily be carried out at night, but the repetition of νῦν in the previous lines and the present tense of both the infinitive and λέγει suggest that the night-planning and the time of Eteocles' speech are concurrent. Of course, it is possible that, as Hutchinson argues, the present tense of λέγει does not denote the immediate present, but instead makes a distinction between the current state of affairs and the previous days of the siege, to which Eteocles has already alluded.[4] In this case, 'now he says that the Argives are night-planning' would refer generally to a stretch of time that includes the previous night through the moment at which Eteocles is speaking. But this seems unnecessarily complicated. First, Eteocles' information is coming from Tiresias,

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1 I use the Greek text from Hutchinson's 1985 edition. All translations are my own.
2 More literally: 'they are discussing by night a great Argive attack.'
3 See von Lehsten in this volume (166).
4 Hutchinson 1985, 47.

who is a prophet, not a scout, so there is no need for a substantial lag between the action of the enemy and Eteocles' knowledge of it. Second, Eteocles tells the Thebans about the night-planning before the arrival of his scout, who then confirms the intended attack on the city. Since the scout has not yet arrived at the time of Eteocles' speech, it seems likely that even if the present tense of λέγει νυκτηγορεῖσθαι denotes the general time rather than the specific present, the Argive army's planning cannot have occurred too much earlier.

When the scout does arrive, he offers an ambiguous clue for the time of day. He first reports the oath of the Seven to take Thebes or die in the attempt, with considerable description of the warriors, but no details of time or setting. However, as he takes his leave to return to spying, the scout makes a promise to Eteocles, κἀγὼ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστὸν ἡμεροσκόπον / ὀφθαλμὸν ἕξω· καὶ σαφηνείαι λόγου / εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβὴς ἔσηι ('In the future I will keep a faithful, daytime-watching eye, and from the clear truth of my report you will be safe, knowing the things going on outside,' 66–68). There are at least three ways in which we can understand the messenger's statement. The daytime watcher, whose eye is ἡμεροσκόπον, at first seems to affirm a daytime setting for the play: the scout is going back out of the city to keep a watch on the enemy, and since it is daytime, he calls himself ἡμεροσκόπον. It is possible, however, that the ἡμερο- is time-neutral, and refers to the sharpness of the scout's sight, rather than the context in which he undertakes his mission.[5] Finally, the scout's expression could mean that whereas up until now he has been watching in the dark, in the future he will keep a daytime watch.[6] I find this last interpretation most convincing, for it seems unnecessary for the scout to specify that he will be a day-watcher if it has been daytime for some while. Alone, the expression is entirely ambiguous, but when taken with the nighttime planning of the previous passage, it strengthens the impression—still only a suggestion—of a nighttime setting.

So far, the intimations of nighttime have all come from references to nighttime or daytime activities. The parodos contains no such references. Instead, we may find our clues in the way the chorus describes the approaching enemy, since these descriptions suggest that the women cannot actually see outside the city.[7] In their overwhelming fear, the women describe the Argive army vividly, shuddering over each detail; their war-cry, shields, spears, horse-tack, and chariots. Yet almost all of the chorus' descriptions are based on sound

5 Hutchinson 1985, 53.

6 Sommerstein 2008, 159.

7 Trieschnigg 2016, 221; Bacon 1964, 28–29; *contra* Thalmann 1978, 89, although he acknowledges in a note that there is nothing to prove that the chorus can see, and even a suggestion by the Medicean scholiast that they are imagining the army. Thalmann 1978, 168, n. 24.

rather than sight. The galloping of hooves reaches their ears (84), a war cry crests the walls (89), there is a clatter of shields (100) and spears (103), the thundering of a wave (115), and the jingling of bridles (124), while chariots rattle and squeal (151–153). The chorus differentiate these noises from each other, listening with anxious attention to detail, as the variety of words used to convey the sounds attests: βοή (89), κτύπος (100), πάταγος (103), καχλάζω (115), κινύρομαι (123), ὄτοβος (151), λάσκω (153), κόναβος (160). These are different words for different kinds of sounds. Each new noise signifies a new danger, and their cumulative effect causes the chorus to lapse into inarticulate cries.

In contrast to the prevalent language of sound, there are only two instances in the parodos in which the chorus seems to be describing something they see. At line 81, the chorus actually says that it can see the cloud of dust which the army has raised in the air: αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ' / ἄναυδος σαφὴς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος ('The dust apparent in the air persuades me, a silent but clear and trusty messenger,' 81–82). Nevertheless, this does not mean that the chorus can see outside. A dust cloud would be visible in the air from within the walls of the city even at night, when the darkness of the cloud would blot out the view of the stars (as regular clouds do). The second instance of visual language is the chorus' description of the Argives' white shields: ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐπρεπὴς ἐπὶ πόλιν διώκων ⟨πόδα⟩ ('The white-shielded men rise up conspicuous, speeding their feet toward the city,' 91–92). The specificity of the color white suggests that the chorus can see, but the shields are not necessarily observed first-hand; this may be a stock description, since 'white-shielded' appears as an epithet in the *Iliad* (22.290), and is applied to the Argives in both Sophocles' *Antigone* (106) and Euripides' *Phoenissae* (1099).[8] Even if the description of the white shields is based on sight, the line remains puzzling—why should the chorus single out the dust and the shields for visual description if they can see the whole army? These are anomalies in an otherwise unbroken succession of auditory details.

In the rest of the parodos, sound exerts such dominance over sight that the senses begin to fuse: κτύπον δέδορκα· πάταγος οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός, the chorus cries ('I see the sound, the rattle of more than one spear,' 103). This synesthetic outburst reveals the chorus' mental processes: first they hear the sound, and then they interpret it, generating the mental image of spears crashing against each other.[9] The process is the result of the chorus' blindness within the city walls: because the chorus cannot see anything, they 'see' the information carried by the sound.

8 Trieschnigg 2016, 223.

9 Nooter makes a similar observation (2017, 75).

Blind and trapped inside of Thebes, the chorus has nothing but sound to feed their fears. And although the language of the parodos suggests only that the women cannot see the army, without providing a reason for this inability, a nighttime setting would align the blindness of the chorus with the intimations of night given by Eteocles and the scout. Darkness would heighten the fear and disorder among the women, who are powerless to do anything—even see—in the face of an invading force.

When Eteocles rebukes the chorus for their public supplication, they defend themselves, explaining why they are so afraid. Once again, it is clear that the chorus' fear derives from sound, not sight (*Th.* 203–207):

> O dear child of Oedipus, I was afraid when I heard the crashing, crashing of the chariots' din, and when the squealing whirling wheels screamed out, and when the mouths of horses sounded through the fire-born bits of the bridle.
>
> ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος, ἔδεισ' ἀκού-
> σασα τὸν ἁρματόκτυπον ὄτοβον ὄτοβον,
> ὅτε τε σύριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἑλίτροχοι,
> ἱππικόν τ' ἄπυεν πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα
> πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν.

The chorus constructs the scene from auditory signals. They tell us themselves that they heard the chariots, they did not see them. Interpretation of sound, not autopsy, has rendered the whirling wheels and fire-born bits. Throughout the remainder of the scene, the chorus never mention *seeing* anything of the enemy in their protestations to Eteocles. They insist that it is the noise that has frightened them, as in lines 239–241, ἅμα ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον / ταρβοσύνωι φόβωι τάνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπτολιν, / τίμιον ἕδος, ἱκόμαν ('As soon as I heard the strange clash, I came to this acropolis in stricken fear'), and 249, δέδοικ'· ἀραγμὸς ἐν πύλαις ὀφέλλεται ('I am afraid—the crashing at the gates is getting louder!'). The consistent lack of visual language, paired with the chorus' own assertions that they are frightened because of the noise of the army, confirms the impression conveyed in the parodos that the chorus is unable to see. Moreover, since we know from these lines that the chorus is on the acropolis, it is less likely that the chorus' blindness is due entirely to the walls of the city, rather than darkness.

In the parodos, any indication of a nighttime setting has been based on inference, rather than explicit statement. From the passages I have examined, it seems possible that the entire play to this point has taken place in darkness, from Eteocles' first speech about the night-planned assault to his harsh

exchange with the Theban women. We might cautiously surmise that the play begins shortly before dawn, like the *Agamemnon*, and that the rest of the action will take place during the day.[10] But when we reach the first choral ode, this timeline becomes more complicated. At first, it seems that the chorus confirms the idea that the play is occurring at night: 'My heart does not sleep because of care' (φόβωι δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσσει κέαρ, 287). The image of the sleepless heart, however, could easily be metaphorical, while the chorus' expression, if taken more literally, is ambiguous as to whether we should imagine them trying to sleep and being unable, or suddenly waking from sleep in fear, leaving the exact timing in doubt. Whatever sleep the heart should be getting, it tells us nothing about the time of night, beyond evoking its presence in association with sleep.

The end of the first ode disrupts our impression of the play's chronological progression from night into day. The chorus imagines the capture of Thebes by the Argives, anticipating the destruction of the city and the lot of captured women (*Th.* 363–368):

> The wretched slave women, new to misery, will endure a prisoner's bed for some lucky man, since they must expect to suffer the nighttime consummation of the domineering enemy, the utmost of their mournful miseries.
>
> δμωΐδες δὲ καινοπήμονες νέαι
> †τλήμονες† εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον
> ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος· ὡς
> δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου
> ἐλπίς ἐστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν,
> παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον.

The women will suffer a νύκτερον τέλος, nighttime consummation. It is not surprising that the chorus would include this feature of the sufferings they may expect in war, but it may be noteworthy that they specify night. The rest of the ode has been typically vague about the time of the city's capture, but now we discover that at least at the end of the battle, when the looting has begun, it will be night. The chorus is imagining a timeline that extends beyond the bounds of the play, locating their anticipated sufferings in the night, just as they are currently shrouded in a sleepless night. Of course, it is also possible that the chorus does not refer to the end of the battle, but rather their eventual suffer-

10 As in Poli Palladini's view, that the play begins in the early morning and dawn arrives around line 68 (2016, 108).

ing at a later time after the sack of the city. In this case, however, the νύκτερον τέλος presents a future shrouded in the same darkness as the current siege. The current terror, the immanent capture of the city, and their future repeated sufferings are all bound together as a succession of nighttime crises.

3 Impressionistic Time

We now have two principal sets of chronological data. Several features in the opening of the *Seven* suggest that it is night, while the first ode may imply that an attack on Thebes will end at night. These sets define the widest range of time in the play, within which we must now orient ourselves. It is possible, as mentioned above, that the play starts in darkness, perhaps at early morning, and continues through the course of a day until the battle ends at the beginning of the next night. This model would allow us to imagine most of the play occurring during the day, and it would agree with Aristotle's general observation that the action of a tragedy tends to fall within a single rotation of the sun.[11] But there is also a possibility, however unlikely it may seem, that the entire play takes place during a single night. In this version, the descriptions of the Seven, the supplications of the chorus, and the shield scene and final lament would all unfold in darkness. Since all we know is that the battle is planned in darkness and completed in darkness, the evidence in the text is insufficient to determine which of the two models is correct. Yet I think that as I have set them out, trying to decide between these models is beside the point. The hints of night are not actually meant to assert the presence of night the physical phenomenon, but rather to contribute a nighttime atmosphere to the play. That is, Aeschylus is not using night as a *time* reference at all, but as a thematic device, a color wash to tinge the actions of the play.

The time-setting of the *Seven Against Thebes* is never made explicit; but the play is inflected with undertones of night. Comedy and tragedy have specific techniques for signaling night on the Greek stage: comedy with explicit verbal references and props, tragedy only by verbal references. References to time in tragedy can be more or less specific, creating a strong and fixed impression of time or merely a vague sense of context.[12] The nighttime references of the

11 *Po.* 1449b12.

12 Donelan 2014, 543–545 cites the beginning of the *Ecclesiazusae*, for a scene that contains both an explicit statement of time and a prop; he also notes that the passing reference to sunset in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (768–769) is never followed by any indication that it should then be night.

Seven fall into the latter category; they are conveying time, but not so strongly that we must imagine Eteocles holding a torch, or that we should anticipate the arrival of dawn. Thus we should imagine the play unfolding in generic dramatic time,[13] but a generic time which possesses aspects of night. It is also important to note that the vagueness of the time of does not lessen the urgency of the play, or the impression that the events are happening within a single period of time as a "short, continuous crisis"[14]—the movement of time is constant, but not precise.[15] The *Seven* is not unique in this flexible treatment of time. Aeschylus' *Suppliants* inserts evening in the middle of the action of the play only to ignore it subsequently (*Supp.* 768–769), and a similarly ephemeral nightfall can be found in *Choephoroi* (*Ch.* 660–661).[16] Such comparisons free us from the necessity of determining the exact chronology of the *Seven*. Time is now not primarily important for determining when the action unfolds, but *how* it unfolds: in the *Seven* it is always a little bit night.

The impressionistic time we find in the *Seven*, which expresses how actions occur—as opposed to circumstantial time, which denotes when they occur—may be due in part to the performance context of Greek tragedy. Performance during the daylight hours, without artificial lighting, suggests that the action of a play occurs during the day by default, unless otherwise specified by language or props, as noted above. This assumption is bolstered by the fact noted above, that only one surviving tragedy is explicitly set at night, Euripides' *Rhesus*. The default daytime of a play's setting does not proceed apace with the 'clock time' outside the play, but can be compressed or stretched as necessary.[17] The passage of time is further distorted by the choral odes, which periodically suspend the action of the play. Moreover, the content of the choral odes often pitches the audience backward or forward in time, as in the beginning of the *Agamemnon*, or in the chorus' anticipation of their imminent suffering in the first choral ode of the *Seven*.[18] With the non-specific daytime, fragmented temporal progression, and periodic connection to past and future, dramatic time becomes a neutral and highly manipulable dimension for the tragic poet. Just as we do not ask how much time exactly a chorus' meditations take up, so the hints of

13 Taplin 1977, 292.

14 De Romilly 1968, 12.

15 Thus, as Poli Palladini 2016, 106–108 argues, there is no need to imagine either that time stops during the second episode of the play, or that the siege continues for an unrealistic duration, in order to account for Eteocles' failure to join battle until line 719.

16 Donelan 2014, 545.

17 Taplin 1977, 292; see Taplin 240 and Thalmann 1978, 84 for discussions of time within the *Seven*.

18 De Romilly 1968, 26.

night in the *Seven*, unlike an explicit statement of time and use of props, are not meant to set up a strict temporal framework but to say something about the action, imbuing it with connotations of night. Trying to pinpoint the clock time is to mistake the point of the tragedy; it does not add to our understanding of the terror of the Theban women to know that they have been praying from midnight to two—but it does change our understanding if we know that they are praying in the dark.

4 Understanding Night in the *Seven*

If references to night in the *Seven* are not meant to convey absolute time but impressionistic time and atmospheric color, we must ask what such color contributes to our understanding of the play.[19] First, an impression that the attack occurs at night serves to heighten the sense of claustrophobia and fear within Thebes. The chorus' inability to see suggests to the audience that it is night, but for them the blindness increases their fear. The imagined enemy is more frightening than one that can be seen. The chorus knows that the enemy waits outside, knows that they themselves are surrounded, but they are closed in by darkness. This is why their panic escalates with every new noise, until they 'see the sound': blind terror forces the imagination to create an image of the enemy. The blindness of night prevents one from telling where and even who the enemy is. In the dark it is difficult to tell who is a friend and who foe—a problem present elsewhere in the play, since Polynices is attacking his native city, and Greeks are besieged by Greeks.[20]

In the dark, one cannot see an enemy until he looms close, suddenly appearing. The failure of vision experienced by the chorus is parallel to the limping movement of information elsewhere in the play. Just as the chorus cannot look out at the army, but must wait passively for sounds to come to them, Eteocles is also trapped within the walls, dependent on messages brought from outside. The sounds brought to the chorus are only a less exact version of the scout's report. Sight and foresight are equally impossible; from within the walls of Thebes, only blind Tiresias, the 'herdsman of birds,' can look out and see what may be coming. Those within Thebes can only react to information as it is presented. The chorus interprets the sounds carried to them, picturing the

19 For other treatments of night as a thematic or rhetorical device, see De Temmerman 2018 on night in the Greek novels and Chaniotis 2017 on nighttime violence in Hellenistic texts.
20 Bacon 1964, 29.

spears that clash and the wheels that screech. Similarly, Eteocles must interpret the information carried by the scout, matching each enemy with a Theban defender. Eteocles is quite successful in his interpretation, since the attackers are killed at each of the seven gates, but he proves incapable of foresight when it is most crucial; in this, he is much like his father. Like one groping in the dark, Eteocles cannot see who is drawing near. He assigns six champions in turn, but does not anticipate who will be stationed at the seventh gate.[21]

The failures of information and interpretation in the *Seven* may have been instances of a broader theme that extended throughout the Theban trilogy.[22] In this case, both Eteocles' inability to predict Polynices as the seventh warrior and the night-blindness of the chorus are indicative of a failure—centered on Thebes—to fully perceive vital truths. Although we do not have the previous plays in the trilogy, the *Oedipus* and the *Laius*, or the satyr-play *Sphinx* which accompanied them, the story of Oedipus features blindness prominently. The extent to which specific themes were included in the previous plays is ultimately unknowable, but there are clues within the *Seven* about several instances in which knowledge and interpretation may have been critical in the other plays.

We have no indication from the earlier plays of the trilogy that Laius' error involved interpretation specifically. However, when we turn to Oedipus it is quite likely that interpretation, like various forms of 'blindness,' was thematically important.[23] Oedipus' paired actions [SOLVING THE RIDDLE OF THE SPHINX] / [IGNORANCE OF HIS OWN IDENTITY] are mirrored in paired actions of Eteocles: [SUCCESSFUL MATCHING OF THE CHALLENGERS] /

21 Although the only salient question for this interpretation is whether Eteocles knows in advance that Polynices will be the seventh fighter (and I think he does not), I find compelling Herrmann's construction of the shield scene, in which Eteocles chooses the defenders by lot (2013, 58–62). Otherwise, whether Eteocles is selecting a fighter to match each of the attackers, or describing each of the (already selected) defenders in such a way as to emphasize their efficacy against the attacker, his action is still one of interpretation of appropriate signs.

22 Trieschnigg 2016, 232 and Sommerstein 2013, 74–75.

23 In the second choral ode, the chorus discusses the previous transgressions of the Labdacids, including the oracle warning Laius not to have children. It would be appealing if this oracle, like that given to Oedipus, were sufficiently ambiguous to demand interpretation, but this seems not to have been the case. The chorus says that Laius begot children Ἀπόλλωνος βίᾳ ('in spite of Apollo,' 745–746), after being told not to have children three times by the oracle. The chorus' description of Laius' 'thoughtlessness' (ἀβουλιᾶν, 750) and the 'lunatic madness' (παράνοια φρενώλης, 756) of his marriage strengthen the impression that this episode, if it was included in the *Laius*, probably did not emphasize interpretation of knowledge. See Sommerstein 2013, 85.

[IGNORANCE OF HIS BROTHER AS THE SEVENTH]. In each case, the otherwise skilled interpreter has a selective blindness about the information most closely related to himself. A final riddle-analogue is revealed in the *Seven*. Oedipus' curse said that the brothers would divide their inheritance with iron, and there is no indication in the *Seven* that Eteocles misinterpreted the meaning.[24] However, as he arms himself for war, Eteocles follows a mention of Oedipus' curse with an allusion to dreams that he has not understood until now: ἄγαν δ' ἀληθεῖς ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων / ὄψεις, πατρῴων χρημάτων δατήριοι ('too true was the appearance of my dreaming visions, dividing our paternal property,' *Th.* 710–711). These dreams, which promise reconciliation by a Chalybian stranger, offer a final failure of interpretation.[25] Eteocles realizes too late that the stranger from Chalybes is the iron of Oedipus' curse. It seems possible that fatal misinterpretations drove the plot of the trilogy, since in the *Seven* at least they seem to have dogged the careers of both Eteocles and his father. In this context, the nighttime tone of the *Seven* reveals itself as a physical manifestation of the literal and figurative blindness of the Labdacids.

Intimations of night do more than deepen the suspense of the *Seven* or possibly bind the play thematically to the actions of the *Laius* or the *Oedipus*. They also connect the attack on Thebes with the other great war of Greek legend: the attack on Troy. The capture of Troy was the most famous episode of the destruction of a city, and one that traditionally occurred at night. Various allusions to the Trojan War and the *Iliad* more specifically appear in the *Seven*. The attacking army are not only called Argives but Achaeans, as in the *Iliad*, which places the Thebans in the role of Trojans. In the first ode, the chorus imagines the sufferings of an Argive victory, when the city will be 'cast down to Hades' (*Th.* 322). The phrase used here, Ἀΐδαι προϊάψαι, is found in the third line of the *Iliad* to describe the death of heroes at Troy: πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν / ἡρώων (Hom. *Il.* 1.3).[26] In the same ode, the chorus laments the 'blood-red screams of infants only recently fed at the breast' (*Th.* 348–349, another example of sound described visually), inspiring associations with the killing of babies at Troy, most famously Astyanax.[27] Other examples of Homeric phrasing and allusions to the Trojan cycle have been observed, but not in connection with a nighttime context. However, as we have seen, the first choral ode may imply that the defeat of Thebes will occur at night. The marking of time within the play has been ambiguous, so from the audience's perspective it is

24 Hutchinson 1985, xxix.
25 Sommerstein 2013, 88.
26 Hutchinson 1985, 90. He comments, "no allusion could be more ostentatious."
27 Hutchinson 1985, 90.

not dramatically necessary for the chorus to think that the city will be sacked at night. The chorus emphasizes night in order to create a connection with Troy, although of course in mythic time the attack on Thebes predates the Trojan War. The language of the chorus recalls an event that has not happened yet. Thus the chorus, in anticipating the future sacking of their own city, are enmeshed in a literary tradition of which they are unaware, but which contributes to the atmosphere of night created in the odes.

If night makes the attack on Thebes parallel to that on Troy, what effect does this have on our perception of Polynices and his allies? It is tempting to suggest Polynices' very decision to attack at night is underhanded and thus portrays him as unheroic; I do not, however, think this is correct. In their study of *Iliad 10*, Dué and Ebbott argue that nighttime engagements and ambushes were acceptable tactics which carried their own prestige.[28] It is not the fact of the night attack that reflects negatively on Polynices and his allies, but the night attack in its relation to the Trojan story. The crimes committed by the Greeks in the sack of Troy were well known and thematized in tragedy, as in Aeschylus' own *Oresteia*. By sacking the city at night, Polynices and the Argives place themselves in the role of those who will commit the atrocities imagined by the chorus: slaughter, pillage, infanticide. Of course, Polynices is even worse than the Greeks at Troy, since he plans to inflict this violence on his own homeland. The intimations of night, by making the capture of Thebes parallel to Troy, intensify both the suffering of the Thebans and the callous behavior of the invaders. The mythic parallels enrich the associations of the captured city, and assert the epic credentials and epoch-defining importance of the conflict.

5 Conclusion

The *Seven Against Thebes* is set at night—if it is set at any time at all. In the absence of concrete references to the time of day, we must look for scraps, hints of time and intimations of darkness or light. These hints suggest nighttime, but they are not substantial enough to counteract the entropy of generic time and require us to abandon our assumption that tragic events take place during the day. Instead of interpreting the references to night as firm markers of chronological setting, I suggest we understand them as thematic tools, which deepen the complexity of a scene and tie the actions of the play both to the Labdacid

28 Dué and Ebbott 2010, 34 and *passim*. See also Weissmantel in this volume (275) for night as a strategic battle setting.

trilogy and to the Trojan cycle. When night is in the air, its values and associations color the actions of the play. Night's connotations make the helplessness of the chorus against the siege more palpable: as the audience, we know exactly what will happen to the women if Thebes loses, because we know, as the chorus does not, what happened at Troy. The tones, and the values, of nighttime in the *Seven* work under cover of darkness to intensify the fear and danger in a play already full of Ares.

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CHAPTER 8

Tragedy of Darkness: The Role of Night in Euripides' *Rhesus*

Marie-Charlotte von Lehsten

1 Introduction

The (pseudo-)Euripidean tragedy *Rhesus* offers many peculiarities which have attracted a lot of scholarly attention in the past and which have provoked wide-ranging debates, mainly revolving around the questions of the play's authenticity and date.[1] One of these peculiarities is the extraordinary temporal setting: the *Rhesus* is the only extant Greek tragedy whose action takes place entirely at night.[2]

The play starts off with Trojan sentinels approaching and waking their sleeping commander, Hector. They are the fourth of five shifts of sentinels during the night of the play's action (cf. E. *Rh.* 5–6; 538–545), so the action truly begins in the dead of night. It comes to an end when the first light of the new day becomes visible (cf. 985).

Needless to say, the action of some other tragedies (as well as comedies) also begins before dawn, when it is still dark, the most prominent cases being Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Electra* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*. But in those plays the events before sunrise serve primarily as a prelude to the action that is about to take place during the forthcoming day. The *Rhesus*, however, features what are actual night events (the spying missions of Dolon, Odysseus, and Diomedes, and the arrival and death of Rhesus). Of course, they do occur as a part of the overarching storyline of the Trojan War, but apart from some rather vague analepses and prolepses they are not linked to the preceding or following daytime action.

Virtually all scholarly research on the *Rhesus* has brought up in some way or another its nighttime setting. Most of these studies focus, though, upon the

1 As the issues of authorship and date have already been treated in a vast amount of literature and do not have a direct impact on my argument, I will pass over them in this study.

2 At least, it is the only tragedy where this time frame is explicitly stated; see further Reinhardt's chapter in this volume on a possible nocturnal setting of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*. Whether it was unique among the lost or fragmentary plays, is debated; see Fantuzzi 1990, 21–22, n. 34; Ritchie 1964, 136–137; Perris 2012, 151 with reference to Sommerstein 2010, 241–253.

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implications of the night setting to the staging and the audience's reception. Nearly all scholars agree that the *Rhesus* was performed in broad daylight.[3] Hence, the numerous references to night and darkness that appear throughout the play, and which are particularly frequent at its beginning, are taken as devices to constantly remind the audience of the special temporal setting and surrounding darkness.[4] Scholars also wonder whether the nocturnal setting was conveyed by anything other than words alone: for example, by props (such as torches),[5] painted scenery, gestures, or special movements, showing the characters' inability to see in the dark.[6]

Apart from these rather practical questions, the night in *Rhesus* has been credited with a symbolic meaning, first and foremost in the essays of H. Strohm (1959),[7] H. Parry (1964),[8] and G. Paduano (1973, 13–15).[9] Their considerations

3 Burlando 1993, 119 is an exception in hypothesizing that the *Rhesus* was performed in a fourth-century private context where it would have been possible to stage the play in the evening or at night. She also brings up the idea of an evening performance at the Lenaia around January, but admits at the same time that there is no archaeological evidence for a large-scale illumination of theaters (118–119).

4 See, e.g., Björck 1957, 10; Burlando 1993, 113; Liapis 2012, xxxiv–xxxv; Fantuzzi 1990, 20 and 26. The latter emphasizes the abnormality of a night setting and the imagination that would be necessary to overcome such an anti-realistic background feature. According to Donelan 2014, 543 and 549 (with reference to MacDowell 1988, 19), the reason for the repeated night references is not so much anti-realism, but the "forgetfulness of time on the Greek stage" (543). Perris 2012, 162–163, however, rejects the necessity to remind the audience; in his opinion the night references serve to highlight the night's impact on the characters. Parry 1964, 285 sees in these references not only a necessity, but also "artistic ends."

5 Walton 2000, 141; Arnott 1997, 158. See, however, Donelan 2014, 544–550 against the use of torches as props in tragedies.

6 Walton 2000; Donelan 2014, 536–537. As we have neither clear indications in the plays' texts themselves nor any external evidence for most of these issues in tragedy, their application remains in the realm of speculation for the time being.

7 Strohm conceives of the *Rhesus* as a 'notturno' (258) and of the night as symbolically reflecting the characters' blindness towards their fate and the darkness of their minds, thus connecting their insecurity and wrong decisions to the nighttime (260).

8 Parry, who provides the most detailed analysis of the role of night in *Rhesus* to date, sees the symbolism of light and darkness as "one of the central pillars" of the tragedy's structure (1964, 283). On the one hand, he perceives a play with the traditional motif of light and darkness as symbols of life and death, with light evoking hopes but being a portent of disaster, and darkness being fateful and associated with death in any case. On the other hand, his argument takes a psychological turn when he states that "night is almost an active medium in the play, a presence affecting the physical and mental capacities of the actors who grope in the darkness" (284–285) and that "the darkness has a psychological effect on the minds of those involved, particularly in the Trojan camp" (285).

9 Paduano follows Strohm 1959 and connects night to "[la] mancanza totale di conoscenza"

have been without a doubt seminal in highlighting the night's impact on the characters and its important role in the play. However, they are not very extensive and remain rather vague concerning what precisely constitutes the connection between the night and, for instance, the characters' wrong decisions. In recent years, interesting approaches to the role of night in the *Rhesus* were pursued by A. Markantonatos (2004), C. Dué and M. Ebbott (2010), and C. Plichon (2015), all of whom touched on certain aspects of the nighttime setting while focusing on other topics.[10]

In this chapter, I would like to offer a slightly different approach and a more extensive analysis of the role of night, by starting with a strictly text-oriented survey and then by analyzing some of the relevant passages in detail. I will for the most part leave aside questions of the external circumstances, that is, staging and audience, and focus mainly on the play's internal features and dynamics. By analyzing explicit references to night and their respective contexts, I hope to better identify which ideas or actions prove to be associated with night, which concepts of night are most manifest, and what influence the night has on the characters' behavior and on the proceedings of the plot. In doing so, I will identify three thematic fields which dominate the perception of and references to night, but which have not been discussed before: transgression, agitation, and (dis)order.

My aim in this examination is not only to substantiate and extend what has been said to date, but also to connect the role of night with the question of the play's tragic dimension. In the past, several scholars observed a lack of tragic elements and of serious pathos in the *Rhesus*. To cite one quite pithy example, G. Björck (1957, 17) states that "the plot of the *Rhesus* is no more a tragedy than two gangsters waylaying the first suitable victim to come in their way."[11]

(1973, 13). He briefly compares the role of night in *Iliad* 10 (benefitting man's enterprises) with that of the *Rhesus* (obstructing everyone's perception).

10 Markantonatos 2004, 19–24 connects the role of night in *Rhesus* with ideas of Orphism. Dué and Ebbott 2010, 128–135, in an essay accompanying their commentary on *Iliad* 10, tackle the question of the ways in which the darkness in *Rhesus* affects the sensory perception, movements, and behavior of the characters and how these difficulties, for example in distinguishing between friend and enemy, are overcome (or not). Plichon 2015 repeatedly touches on the role of night while analyzing the motif of fear in the *Rhesus* and discovers a close connection between both elements, fear and night. See also Perris 2012, 162–163, who connects the night setting to the prominent motif of confusion.

11 According to Björck, a tragic conflict could only "consist in the meeting of Odysseus-Diomedes and Rhesus," and he makes the criticism that there is "not the faintest spiritual tie [...] between them" (1957, 17). For other statements on the lack of tragic features, see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1926, 286; Geffcken 1936, 402 and 407–408; Pohlenz 1954, 475; Grube 1973, 439 and 445–446; Kitto 1977, esp. 345–347; Bond 1996, 272; Thum 2005.

It is true that the characters in the *Rhesus* do not learn any lessons during the course of the drama. Rhesus himself gets killed in sleep without noticing by whom and without realizing, let alone regretting, his former overconfidence. Hector, who can be seen as the play's main character, does not seem to realize the full significance of Rhesus' death. In the end, he is as confident about his victory over the Greeks as he was before the arrival and death of his ally. It also cannot be denied that several comic or burlesque elements turn up in the play.[12]

On the other hand, to mention just some basic features, the *Rhesus* presents several figures being killed (Dolon and Rhesus) or suffering a heavy loss (mainly Hector, the Muse, who is Rhesus' mother, and Rhesus' charioteer). There is a lot of emotion and pathos, either in the form of great (unfulfilled) hope or of pain and sorrow, as well as a constant atmosphere of uncertainty, delusion, and foreboding.[13] One aspect is particularly intriguing and lies at the center of the play's tragic quality: the motif of characters who try to act in the best possible way but who nevertheless (or for exactly this reason) bring misfortune upon themselves or others, as is pervasive throughout the *Rhesus*.[14] As we shall see, this is also where night comes into play. Analyzing the role of night will certainly not entirely answer the question whether *Rhesus* can be considered a 'tragic' tragedy,[15] but it can at least add another facet and give greater weight to the aforementioned tragic motif of misguided decisions.

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12 This has led some scholars to regard it as somehow passing into the sphere of satyr play or even being a deliberate parody; see esp. Burnett 1985. Cf. also Murray 1913a, ix–x; Geffcken 1936, 396, 402–408; Pohlenz 1954, 473–474. According to Kitto 1977, the idea of a burlesque does occasionally occur to the recipient (339), but on the whole, the play is just too bad to be deemed either a burlesque or tragedy (esp. 345). See, however, Ritchie 1964, 350–351, who states that "the element of comedy in *Rhesus* has been absurdly exaggerated" (351). On comic elements in tragedy see generally Seidensticker 1982.

13 Many research contributions do acknowledge *Rhesus*' tragic qualities and its pathos, the most ardent advocate being Ritchie 1964, esp. 350–353. See also Macurdy 1943, 415; Strohm 1959; Parry 1964; Paduano 1973; Rosivach 1978; Jouan 2004, LV–LVI; Fantuzzi 2006a and 2006b; Dué and Ebbot 2010, 127; Fries 2014, 6.

14 This aspect is also pointed out by Strohm 1959, esp. 259, and Rosivach 1978, esp. 63 (highlighting the role of fate as a superior cause for the events turning into a disaster).

15 In the end, the truth will be found somewhere in the middle between being a burlesque/parody and having an entirely serious character. Certainly, the *Rhesus* does not provide a tragic entanglement in the purest sense and come up to the Aristotelian 'standards' (see also Ritchie 1964, 352). In the following, I take 'tragic' in a rather broad sense to refer to inevitable sufferings and misfortune that stir compassion and are only partly caused by the fault of a tragic character, as well as referring to discrepancies in the knowledge of recipients and characters about the latter's imminent fates.

As to methodology, examining the role of night in *Rhesus* confronts us with certain interpretive challenges. The *Rhesus* does not provide general reflections or a direct description either of the nighttime itself or of its impact on the characters.[16] The third *stasimon* (*Rh.* 527–564) comes closest to such a statement, when the chorus of sentinels describes the stars, the moon, the nightingale's singing, and the sounds of shepherds. But these images do not stand for themselves, and rather are firmly rooted in the action. They serve mainly to point out the advanced time of night and are subordinated to the considerations about the necessity of a change of guards which constitute the *stasimon*'s framework (527–528, 532–533, 538–545, 562–564). Consequently, it is certainly possible to identify within the *Rhesus* some ideas that the characters have concerning the impact or requirements of the night, but these ideas mainly appear *in actu*.

In view of this, another issue arises: since the play's action takes place entirely by night, we cannot determine night-specific features by a comparison with the presentation of events or the characters' behavior by day. First and foremost, we have to resort to passages where either night is referenced directly; night-related phenomena such as sleep, dreams, limited vision, beds, lighting-equipment, and stars are mentioned; or, finally, factors such as acoustic elements are highlighted. In my analysis, I will take into special consideration the explicit references to night or darkness.

It comes as little surprise that references to the night figure prominently throughout the *Rhesus*. We can find thirteen references to νύξ[17] and fourteen to compound words and derivatives of the νυκ- stem: one noun, νυκτηγορία (19), two verbs, νυκτηγορέω (89) and νυχεύω (520),[18] and five adjectives, νύχιος (21), ἐννύχιος (45, 227), ἔννυχος (55, 501, 788), νύκτερος (53, 87, 139, 765), and νυκτίβρομος (552).[19] The *Rhesus* also provides six instances of εὐφρόνη[20] and two lexemes signifying 'darkness,' ὄρφνη (seven appearances)[21] and σκότος (571).[22] This amounts to 33 references to the night in a narrower and 41 in a broader sense.

16 There is also no invocation of night, as in E. *El.* 54, *Andromeda* fr. 1 and A. *Ag.* 355–361.

17 *Rh.* 5, 13, 17, 64, 95, 111, 146, 285, 289, 600, 615, 691, 727.

18 Νυκτηγορία and νυκτηγορέω are uncommon compounds; only the verb occurs elsewhere (and just one more time) in Archaic and Classical literature (A. *Th.* 29). Νυχεύω is also rare: there are three further references in Archaic and Classical texts (E. *El.* 181, *Hyps.* fr. 8/9,13 Bond; S. *Ant.* 784).

19 Νυκτίβρομος is documented only here (*Rh.* 552).

20 *Rh.* 92, 518, 617, 736, 824, 852.

21 *Rh.* 42, 69, 570, 587, 678, 697, 774. Ὄρφνη by itself is not an uncommon word, but in tragedy is used only by Euripides.

22 In the following analysis, these terms for darkness will be treated in the same way as the

A quick glance at those passages reveals a certain uniformity. The *Rhesus* includes neither any figurative use of night nor a personified goddess Nyx. There are hardly any references to particular nights outside the dramatic time[23] and night is also rarely dealt with in a general sense.[24] The overwhelming majority consists in references to the very night in which the action takes place.

The associated phenomena that emerge from analyzing the context of these night-references are, on the one hand, quite unsurprising: night is mentioned in connection with sleep and staying awake, with the job of the sentinels, with illumination, and also with fear. On the other hand, there appear to be some quite striking and interesting phenomena on which I will focus more below. In fact, about two-thirds of all references to night can be categorized under the labels of transgression, agitation, and collapsing order—three phenomena which may be subsumed under the headings of breaking through structures and the collapse of structures.

2 Nocturnal Transgression

The most important of these domains is transgression. I take this term here to signify a crossing of frontiers (spatially and ethically). In the *Rhesus*, this consists particularly in penetrating into enemy territory (what I call 'invasive transgression') and taking flight from a military confrontation ('evasive transgression'). A direct link between night and transgression becomes manifest in about fifteen passages, which is a considerable number even against the background of the play generally, in which transgression features in the two spying missions as a major topic.

Hector's report about Odysseus' former crimes against Troy, the nocturnal theft of the Palladium and the *ptocheia*, provides a good starting point for our investigation (*Rh.* 498–507, trans. Kovacs 2002):

> Odysseus is a clever rogue: he is plenty bold of heart and has done more harm to this land than any other. He went by night to Athena's shrine, stole the statue, and carried it off to the Argive ships. And then he was sent to

night-lexemes. Not only is darkness night's mainly perceptible feature, it is also used similarly in the text (cf., e.g., how κατ' εὐφρόνην in 736/852 and κατ' ὄρφνην in 570/678 are employed).

23 One example is the report of Odysseus' nocturnal theft of the Palladium (501–502).

24 Statements referring to night that can be considered in a way as gnomic or universal occur in 69, 285–286 and 736–737.

spy on Troy: he came within the walls dressed as a beggar in rags and uttering curses on the Argives. But he killed the sentries and gate guards before going out.

ἔστι δ’ αἱμυλώτατον
κρότημ’ Ὀδυσσεὺς λῆμά τ’ ἀρκούντως θρασὺς
καὶ πλεῖστα χώραν τήνδ’ ἀνὴρ καθυβρίσας·
ὃς εἰς Ἀθάνας σηκὸν **ἔννυχος** μολὼν
κλέψας ἄγαλμα ναῦς ἐπ’ Ἀργείων φέρει.
ἤδη δ’ ἀγύρτης πτωχικὴν ἔχων στολὴν
ἐσῆλθε πύργους, πολλὰ δ’ Ἀργείοις κακὰ
ἠρᾶτο, πεμφθεὶς Ἰλίου **κατάσκοπος**·
κτανὼν δὲ φρουροὺς καὶ παραστάτας πυλῶν
ἐξῆλθεν·

Both episodes contain several elements which make clear that these incidents can be seen as mirroring the course of events in the play itself.[25] The theft of the Palladium is marked as nocturnal (ἔννυχος, 501) while in the *ptocheia* Odysseus acts as a spy (κατάσκοπος, 505),[26] and the transgressive nature of his deed is highlighted by the correspondence of ἐσῆλθε (504) and ἐξῆλθεν (507). Besides, Odysseus is reproached for having stolen something, bringing it to the Greeks' ships (502), and for having killed Trojans (506). All this generates an intense tragic irony, for the spectators already know that a very similar nocturnal transgression of Odysseus will shortly take place, that he will once again carry off something (Rhesus' horses) and kill people, and that the harm that he—as Hector puts it (cf. 500)—has done to the land, has not yet reached its peak.[27]

25 The fact that those episodes are usually post-Iliadic (they are part of the *Little Iliad*) and were thus anachronistically transferred to the *Rhesus* proves the poet's intention to present them in exactly this way, as a foil for the events to come (see also Jouan 2004, 32; Fries 2014, 307).

26 The term κατάσκοπος is also used with regard to Odysseus' *current* spying mission in lines 645, 657 and 809. Likewise, some other expressions from this passage are later taken up by the chorus, when suspecting Odysseus of having killed Rhesus, e.g., αἱμύλος (498, 709) and θρασύς (499, 707); see also Liapis 2012, 205. All this reinforces this episode's function as being a foil for the events to come.

27 Tragic irony arises as well in the following verses, when Hector states that Odysseus is always to be found in ambushes (αἰεὶ δ’ ἐν λόχοις εὑρίσκεται, 507)—which applies precisely to the current situation. But in contrast to the audience, Hector is not aware of this acute threat, which becomes manifest by the local restriction he adds to his statement (508).

Thus, we can discern the conjunction of night and transgression right at the center of the play's action. In what follows, I will show that this conjunction is not a simple coincidence, but represents a profound conceptual connection which proves to be in a way independent of external circumstances.

The *Rhesus* features several passages in which the invasive transgression of the Greek spies and their stealthy movement through the enemies' camp are linked to references to night.[28] In most of these cases, a term of darkness is used: κατ' ὄρφνην (570, 678), ἐν ὄρφνηι (587), δι' ὄρφνης (697, 774), κἀν σκότωι (571). Only twice do words meaning 'night' in the strict sense appear in this context: τῆσδε νυκτός (727) and κατ' εὐφρόνην (852). Are darkness and night, then, alluded to so frequently primarily because visual limitation looms large when a night-raid threatens? The case in *Rhesus* is more complex. To begin with, in the passages in question, darkness is presented as a hindrance for both sides: not only do the Trojan sentinels fail to keep the Greeks off their camp and let them escape afterwards, but also the Greek spies, who should normally take advantage of the darkness, have to grapple with it (cf. 570–571, 587–588).[29] They even consider aborting their mission due to the difficulties arising from the darkness (cf. 580–588).

Another astonishing fact illustrates that the conjunction of night/darkness and transgression is in a way independent of the question of visual perception. Several times, verbs of seeing occur in the immediate vicinity of the references to darkness. In lines 676–679 the chorus, after perceiving Odysseus and Diomedes fleeing from their camp, utters agitatedly: τίς ἀνήρ; / **λεῦσσε**· τοῦτον αὐδῶ. / … / … / κλῶπας οἵτινες **κατ' ὄρφνην** τόνδε κινοῦσι στρατόν ('Who is the man? Look, here's the one I mean. […][30] These robbers, who have disturbed the army by night'). In lines 773–774, Rhesus' charioteer, who survived the massacre, reports: **λεύσσω** δὲ φῶτε περιπολοῦνθ' ἡμῶν στρατὸν / **πυκνῆς δι' ὄρφνης** ('I saw two men moving about our contingent in the deep dark'). And at

28 By contrast, Dolon's spying mission is nowhere associated with the nighttime, but this is certainly due to the fact that his enterprise is entirely unsuccessful and that after his departure his further destiny is only hinted at. On the night as a time of military ambush scenes, with special regard to the role of darkness and visual perception, see also Weissmantel's chapter in this volume.

29 Cf. also Paduano 1973, 14–15, who compares the situation with that in *Iliad* 10.

30 The two omitted verses (δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς. / τούσδ' ἔχω, τούσδ' ἔμαρψα, 680–681) were transposed into this position by Diggle 1994, whose OCT text is printed here. My argument, however, works better with the manuscripts' and other editors' version, because there λεῦσσε is closer to the reference to darkness and transgression. See also Feickert 2005, 296, who defends the original verse order.

line 570 Odysseus calls on Diomedes while walking through the darkness: ὅρα κατ' ὄρφνην μὴ φύλαξιν ἐντύχῃς ('Take care that you don't run into guards in the dark').

In the first two examples in particular, there seems to be a certain paradox in the combination of seeing and darkness, and in lines 773–774 even more so as the notion of darkness is reinforced by the adjective πυκνός, 'thick' (774). Moreover, the charioteer's emphasis on the thick darkness is striking given that he is delivering an (albeit unorthodox)[31] messenger speech, a standard hallmark feature of which is that it is an eyewitness report.[32] Obviously, then, the *verbum videndi* (λεύσσω, 'I see,' 773) serves to meet the (basic) requirements of a messenger speech, whereas the reference to the darkness highlights not primarily the visual limitation, but the transgressive nature and suspicion aroused by the men's movements.

In the third example (570), ὅρα ('take care,' literally: 'see') has unquestionably the function of a *verbum curandi*, but the juxtaposition of the verb's basic meaning and κατ' ὄρφνην ('in the dark') nevertheless catches one's eye.[33] This may be an intended wordplay to throw into relief the spies' precarious situation while they make their way into the enemies' camp.[34]

To sum up, there are multiple indications that the references to night or darkness serve primarily to hammer home the transgressive dimension of the respective incidents, whereas the visual element is only of secondary importance. Thus, night and transgression prove to be closely linked by what could be called a conceptual connection.

Having stated this special link between night and transgression, we may take it to a second level and examine a passage where, under the influence of this conceptual connection, a nocturnal movement is presented as transgressive. In the play's first messenger scene, a Trojan shepherd reports the approach of Rhesus and his army. To Hector's question of why Rhesus took the route by Mt. Ida instead of using the track through the plain, the messenger replies (*Rh.* 284–289):

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31 Cf., e.g., Strohm 1959, 271–272; Dué and Ebbott 2010, 131–135; Fantuzzi 2011b; Liapis 2012, 270–271.

32 Cf., e.g., Barrett 2002, 182; Dué and Ebbott 2010, 129–130.

33 Liapis 2012, 232 and Fries 2014, 340 point out the parallel expression in E. *IT* 67–68, where the visual element in ὅρα comes to the fore by means of the following verse: ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ ὅρα, φυλάσσου μή τις ἐν στίβωι βροτῶν. / ΠΥΛΑΔΗΣ ὁρῶ, σκοποῦμαι δ' ὄμμα πανταχῆι στρέφων.

34 The two Greeks have been introduced shortly before, hearing noise that they misinterpret and that frightens them (cf. 565–569). Concerning their insecurity and lack of confidence, see also Liapis 2012, 232; Fantuzzi 2006b, 157–158.

> I don't know exactly, though it's possible to guess. It's no small thing to bring an army into the country by night when one has heard that the plains are full of enemy soldiers. It frightened us rustics, who make our home on the very rock of Mount Ida, when they came through the game-rich thickets in the night.
>
> οὐκ οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς· εἰκάσαι γε μὴν πάρα.
> **νυκτὸς** γὰρ οὔτι φαῦλον **ἐσβαλεῖν στρατόν**,
> κλυόντα πλήρη πεδία πολεμίας χερός.
> φόβον δ' ἀγρώσταις, οἳ κατ' Ἰδαῖον λέπας
> οἰκοῦμεν **αὐτόρριζον** ἑστίαν χθονός,
> παρέσχε δρυμὸν **νυκτὸς** ἔνθηρον μολών.

According to the shepherd, it wouldn't be easy to 'invade' a country that is full of enemies. Rhesus, however, does not actually invade enemy territory, but unites with his allies—something of which the shepherd is well aware when he delivers his report. Nevertheless, the shepherd uses the military expression στρατὸν ἐσβάλλειν ('to invade with an army,' 285), which usually signifies a hostile invasion or even an assault. Of course, the striking word choice is partly explained by the following remark that the plains were full of enemies, and can be seen against the backdrop that the Trojan territory was dominated by the Greeks during the war. But the shepherd also makes clear that Rhesus presumably took the way through the mountains precisely because there are no enemies to be encountered *there*. Moreover, he presents the plains being full of enemies only as Rhesus' subjective assumption (note the participle κλυόντα, 'when one has heard,' 286).

Thus, in the shepherd's report of Rhesus' arrival, we again see a close connection between night (mentioned twice by νυκτός, 'at night,' 285 and 289) and transgression. This time, the reason for the event's being presented as a transgressive military intrusion seems to lie to a certain extent in the fact that it took place at night.[35]

35 Cf. Dué and Ebbott 2010, 130, who argue that the rustics' fear and the misinterpretation of Rhesus' arrival as a hostile invasion result from the darkness and the reliance on acoustic impressions. While it is correct that acoustic elements are highlighted in the shepherd's report (cf. 290–291, 294–295), there are no remarks on visual limitation in his speech. In fact, Rhesus, his army and his horses are described in detail, also by means of visual vocabulary (ὁρῶ, 301; ἰδεῖν, 310). Hence, it seems more appropriate to see not simply the darkness, but the time of night in general, as the reason for the shepherd's presentation (and the rustics' perception) of Rhesus' arrival as hostile and transgressive.

In the shepherd's following description of the rustics' fear at the moment of Rhesus' arrival (287–289), the incident's perceived transgressive nature is further brought to the fore by the characterization of the rustics' way of life as αὐτόρριζος, 'firmly rooted in this very place'[36] (288), and by the expression δρυμὸν … ἔνθηρον ('the thicket full of wild beasts,' 289; note the hyperbaton). These descriptive markers highlight that one would normally not enter this place, especially not by night: enclosed by those words, the time phrase νυκτός ('at night,' 289) reappears and makes clear that Rhesus' arrival during the day wouldn't have been so frightening at all.

In short, with Rhesus' arrival on Mount Ida an action which is actually friendly and aims at providing support to the Trojans is perceived and presented as a transgression, mainly because it happens at night. After examining the passages so far, the concept of night as a time related to transgression can be seen to operate in both directions: actions taking place at night (like Rhesus' arrival) tend to be understood or at least presented as transgressive, and, conversely, actual transgressions (like the spies' intrusion) are highlighted by emphasizing the nighttime.

The connection between night and transgression which assumes its own dynamics can also be observed at the play's beginning, where Hector is led to a serious misinterpretation. The sentinels inform him about an unusual illumination in the Greeks' camp (cf. 41–43),[37] from which he immediately infers that, due to his superiority in battle on the preceding day, their enemies are about to take flight and leave the country (*Rh.* 52–55):

> Your coming is timely even though your message brought fright: these men are about to give my watchful eye the slip and escape from this land by night voyage—the import of their night fires comes home to me.
>
> ἐς καιρὸν ἥκεις, καίπερ ἀγγέλλων φόβον·
> ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε **νυκτέρωι πλάτηι**
> λαθόντες ὄμμα τοὐμὸν ἀρεῖσθαι φυγὴν
> μέλλουσι· σαίνει μ' **ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία.**

36 See Feickert 2005, 170–172 for a detailed comment on this word.

37 Apart from fires, the chorus also reports a tumultuous nocturnal gathering at Agamemnon's tent (44–48). However, in the following discussion, Hector's attention remains focused on the unusual illumination (55, 78, 81, 95–98, 109–110) whereas the gathering soldiers are not mentioned again.

The nighttime is mentioned in this passage by means of the metonymic expression νυκτέρωι πλάτηι (53), 'with nocturnal rudder blade,' meaning 'by ship at night.' The phrase λαθόντες ὄμμα τοὐμόν ('hidden from my eye,' 54) indicates the idea of an unseen disappearance, covered by the darkness. And a little bit later, Hector confirms his assumption in a gnomic statement: ἐν ὄρφνηι δραπέτης μέγα σθένει ('a runaway is a mighty man in the dark,' 69). So far, the connection of night and flight seems to be reasoned by 'logical' means.[38]

But Hector's immediate conclusion looks strange given that he deduces it from an unusual illumination, which is in principle inconsistent with a stealthy disappearance. The chorus as well as Hector himself both underline the extraordinary dimension of the fires.[39] They even enable the chorus to discern visually what is going on in the Greeks' camp (cf. 44–48). This causal link is not stated explicitly, but it is important to record that the Trojans do not extrapolate their enemies' presence only by means of the fires; the Greek soldiers can already easily be seen.

Hence, in this situation a clandestine flight would not be very likely, yet Hector himself finds an explanation for the inconsistency between his interpretation (stealthy flight by night) and the facts (illumination). His solution is to unmask the fires as a stratagem that is intended to give him a false sense of security by displaying normality (cf. σαίνει[40] μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία, 55).[41]

But in actual fact, the Greeks are not fleeing, and if they were, it would have been imprudent to light significantly more fires than usual—yet an extraordinary illumination is exactly what the sentinels are reporting to Hector. Thus, in the end, Hector, by thinking to uncover a deceit of the Greeks, is effectively deluded when he over-interprets the signs and assumes a ruse against all evidence. What deceives him, though, is not the Greeks themselves,[42] but his unalterable adherence to an implied connection between night and transgres-

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38 This impression is further enhanced by the Iliadic intertext: at the beginning of this night Agamemnon actually considers taking flight (*Il.* 9.27–28); and one day later, he again envisages a nocturnal flight (*Il.* 14.75–81).

39 Cf. πύρ' αἴθει στρατὸς Ἀργόλας, / Ἕκτορ, **πᾶσαν ἀν' ὄρφναν** (41–42), οὔπω πρὶν ἧψαν πολέμιοι **τοσόνδε φῶς** (81), and αἴθουσι **πᾶσαν νύκτα** λαμπάδας πυρός (95).

40 The verb σαίνω apparently means here that the fires are 'flattering,' that is, suggesting security, and that they are probably devised as a deliberate deception, cf. LSJ s.v. σαίνω II14: 'seeks to deceive me.' To the chorus, the fires are at least 'suspicious' (ὕποπτον, 79).

41 The performance of such tricks is actually documented in Greek literature, for example in Hdt. 4.134.3–135.3. There, the Persian army, preparing a nocturnal flight, feigns the continuation of its normal activities by lighting the fires as usual and by leaving donkeys that will make noise. Cf. also Th. 7.80.1–3.

42 The 'actual' reason for the illumination is not revealed in the *Rhesus*. But there is no hint that the Greeks actually plan to take flight or to deceive Hector.

sion. In trying to make his idea of a nocturnal flight plausible by any means, Hector is prevented from coming up with an alternative and a more realistic explanation of the Greeks' fires.[43]

The *Rhesus* features not only a complex portrayal of the concept of night as a time of transgression; this same motif also has an impact on the play's action as a whole and on its tragic quality. Due to his over-interpretation, Hector first considers attacking the Greeks at once (cf. 70–75, 84), but Aeneas, coming later, talks him out of this (cf. 105–122). Hector and Aeneas both act to the best of their knowledge and especially try to take into consideration the potential consequences of their nocturnal circumstances, namely the enemy's flight (Hector) and the risks inherent in a nocturnal attack on them (Aeneas). But this leads to Hector's serious misinterpretation which lulls the Trojans in a false sense of superiority and security;[44] and later this entails or at least facilitates the massacre of Rhesus and his men (cf., e.g., 762–769). Not only that, but the leaders' efforts result in the fatal decision of sending the spy Dolon (cf. 140), whose capture enables Odysseus and Diomedes to escape after murdering Rhesus because they learned the watchword from Dolon (cf. 572–573 and 687–688). Thus, a particular irony accompanies the fact that Aeneas' seemingly wise advice eventually proves to be counterproductive.[45]

3 Nocturnal Agitation

Apart from the above-noted cases of large-scale nocturnal transgression—invading the enemies' camp or decamping from a military confrontation—the *Rhesus* also features a connection between night and unwanted movements in the microcosm of the Trojans' camp. All Trojan characters display an intense anxiety that during the night agitation might be provoked inside the camp, as caused, for example, by unusual noise or other unexpected incidents. The expression they use, τὴν στρατιὰν (or τὸν στρατὸν) κινεῖν, recurs five times (18, 38, 89, 138–139, 679; sometimes slightly modified), and in each case along with a reference to night or darkness. The basic meaning of the verb κινέω makes clear

43 Cf. Roisman 2015, 6, who claims that Hector's failure should have provoked a comparison with the more prudent Hector in Homer.

44 Significantly, at the very beginning of the play Hector still considers the possibility of an ambush (μῶν τις λόχος ἐκ νυκτῶν; 17), but he never thinks of this again after he has heard the sentinels' report.

45 Cf. also Strohm 1959, 258–259; Rosivach 1978, esp. 55; Fantuzzi 2006b, 148. See in general Gibert 1995 on changes of mind in tragedy.

that this 'throwing into confusion' is not only a matter of emotions, but that there is also a real movement intended.[46]

The motif already emerges in the opening scene, when Hector, just awakened by the chorus of sentinels, reproaches them (*Rh.* 15–22):

> HECTOR: Why this troubled haste? CHORUS: Have no fear! HECTOR: Not I! Is there some night raid? CHORUS: No. HECTOR: Why have you left your guard post and thrown the army into confusion if you have nothing to report by night? Don't you know that we are encamped under arms near the Argive army?
>
> ... Εκ. τί φέρηι θορύβωι,
> [Χο. θάρσει. Εκ. θαρσῶ.
> †μῶν τις λόχος ἐκ νυκτῶν; Χο. οὐκ ἔστι. Εκ. τί σὺ γὰρ†
> φυλακὰς προλιπὼν **κινεῖς στρατιάν**,][47]
> εἰ μή τιν' ἔχων **νυκτηγορίαν**;
> οὐκ οἶσθα δορὸς πέλας Ἀργείου
> **νυχίαν** ἡμᾶς
> κοίτην πανόπλους κατέχοντας;

Aeneas, who appears onstage a little later, uses more or less the same words, and again the reproach of throwing the army into confusion is combined with two references to the nighttime (*Rh.* 87–89):

> Hector, why have the night watch come to your resting place in panic? Why are they deliberating at night, why is the army thrown into confusion?
>
> Ἕκτορ, τί χρῆμα **νύκτεροι** κατὰ στρατὸν
> τὰς σὰς πρὸς εὐνὰς φύλακες ἐλθόντες φόβωι
> **νυκτηγοροῦσι** καὶ **κεκίνηται στρατός**;

46 According to the commentators, the notion of movement is left rather in the background, cf. Feickert 2005, 109; Liapis 2012, 77 with reference to Chadwick 1996, 186; Fries 2014, 123. LSJ s.v. κινέω, however, classify the reference in line 18 simply under 'move.' Their placement of the formula in line 139 under 'move forward' (II B4) is questionable, though.

47 Lines 16–18 were deleted by Diggle. Since other editors/commentators (e.g., Murray 1913b and Fries 2014, 67–68) keep them, I venture to take them into account for my interpretation.

Shortly later still, the motif remains present, as, after Aeneas' persuasive speech, Hector sends him away with the order to calm the army: στείχων δὲ κοίμα συμμάχους· τάχ' ἂν **στρατὸς / κινοῖτ'** ἀκούσας **νυκτέρους** ἐκκλησίας ('But go and calm our allies: perhaps the army might be stirred up by hearing of our night meeting,' 138–139). The focus on the allies is a new element here that already adumbrates the later incident involving Rhesus.

Against the background of the chorus' agitated entrance (cf. esp. 11–33) with its numerous questions and staccato-like interjections, the leaders' fear of agitation in the army does not seem totally out of place.[48] Besides, the phenomenon of armies getting into a panic during the night without any external influence except the spread of rumors, is well attested by historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides.[49]

On the other hand, even though the leaders constantly fear it, there are no signs that the chorus' agitated movements create a serious stir in the whole camp.[50] In a first step, we may thus identify another conceptual nexus behind the insistence on the threatening agitation, in this case a nexus between night and panic arising in an army.

The motif of nocturnal agitation also even resurfaces in the second half of the play, after the Greek spies have already murdered Rhesus and his companions. The sentinels notice them on the run, but do not know what happened, and they believe them to be thieves: κλῶπας οἵτινες κατ' ὄρφνην τόνδε κινοῦσι στρατόν ('These robbers, who have disturbed the army by night,' 678–679). They seize the spies, but release them because Odysseus sets them on the wrong track (cf. 683–690). Now the sentinels wonder if they should shout to indicate the incident, but tragically decide against it, in order to avoid the much-feared

48 Further importance is given to this phenomenon by the fact that, according to the sentinels' report, something quite similar seems to happen in the Greek camp: πᾶς δ' Ἀγαμεμνονίαν προσέβα στρατὸς / **ἐννύχιος θορύβωι** σκηνάν, / νέαν τιν' ἐφιέμενοι / βάξιν· οὐ γάρ πω πάρος ὧδ' ἐφοβήθη / ναυσιπόρος στρατιά ('The whole army by night comes in tumult to Agamemnon's tent, desiring to hear some new report: never before was this seagoing host so frightened,' 44–48). In all cases the crucial parallel elements are night, movements, noise, some kind of speech, a gathering, and fear. But as already pointed out in the preceding section, Hector has his own incontrovertible interpretation of the Greeks' behavior.

49 An illustrative example is Th. 7.80.3, with a general reflection upon the phenomenon and with an accentuation of the nighttime (καὶ αὐτοῖς, οἷον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φόβοι καὶ δείματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, **ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν νυκτί** …, ἐμπίπτει ταραχή). Other passages include, e.g., Th. 4.125.1 and Hdt. 7.43.2. See also Fantuzzi 2011a, esp. 42–46, on this phenomenon.

50 Note also that what appears as a firm conviction in the beginning (κεκίνηται στρατός, 89) is later attenuated into a mere possibility (τάχ' ἂν στρατὸς / κινοῖτ', 138–139).

agitation: ἦ βοὴν ἐγερτέον; / ἀλλὰ συμμάχους ταράσσειν δεινὸν ἐκ νυκτῶν φόβωι ('Shall we raise a shout? No, it's a terrible thing to alarm our allies at night,' 690–691).

Thus, again the Trojan characters, as in the case of Hector's momentous misinterpretation at the play's beginning, give consideration to a certain concept of what might happen at night (agitation) but at the same time neglect other nocturnal necessities (e.g., to protect their allies against Greek intruders). Their efforts to act according to the special requirements of the nighttime prove to be ultimately counterproductive. Hector's and Aeneas' fears do not lead to any benefit. On the contrary, by influencing the sentinels' behavior, they facilitate the intruders' escape. Tragic irony arises not only from this rather subtle causal chain, but also in the very moment when the chorus expresses its anxiety not to stir up the allies, unaware that some of them, namely Rhesus and his men, are already dead and cannot be agitated anymore.

4 Nocturnal Disorder

Hector's anxiety that the nocturnal events may cause agitation amongst his soldiers leads to another intricate set of requirements and consequences of nighttime action. This time these are centered around Rhesus and the camp he sets up with his army in the night.

The connection of night references with words of the ταγ- root, namely τάττω and τάξις,[51] which is striking in four passages, shows the way in which (dis)order proves to be relevant for the course of night events. In the *Rhesus*, disorder occurs in two different forms: on the one hand, as effecting the actual chaos of things being not properly stored, and on the other, as the situation of being separated from a well-ordered community.[52]

After Rhesus' arrival in the Trojan camp, Hector ends the conversation with the Thracian commander by drawing attention to nighttime, and by offering to show him a place to set up his camp (*Rh.* 518–520):

> Now it is night: time for you to make camp. I will show you a place where your army may spend the night, separate from where the rest are stationed.

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51 Although these words can be translated quite differently in the respective passages, the basic meaning of 'order' is nonetheless always present.

52 For the motif of night as a time of disorder in a military context see also Weissmantel's chapter in this volume (284).

νῦν μὲν καταυλίσθητι· **καὶ γὰρ εὐφρόνη.**
δείξω δ' ἐγώ σοι χῶρον, ἔνθα χρὴ στρατὸν
τὸν σὸν **νυχεῦσαι τοῦ τεταγμένου δίχα.**

The place in which to camp is explicitly located apart from the main army, which is here called τὸ τεταγμένον (520), an expression that conveys a notion of structure and order. Thus, Rhesus' army is not integrated into the structure of the Trojans' camp, but directed to a more remote spot in order to avoid the dreaded agitation. Even though there is no explicit statement on this, the connection with Hector's worries about the quietness of his camp is eye-catching. Furthermore, the hint Athena gives to Odysseus, repeating the unusual location of Rhesus' army, shows that this arrangement is limited to this one night and thus is probably due to the untimely nocturnal arrival (*Rh.* 612–615):

> ODYSSEUS Where in the enemy camp is he stationed?[53] ATHENA His place is nearby but separate from the army: Hector settled him outside the ranks until day should supplant night.

ΟΔ. πόθεν **τέτακται** βαρβάρου στρατεύματος;
ΑΘ. ὅδ' ἐγγὺς ἧσται κοὐ συνήθροισται στρατῶι,
ἀλλ' **ἐκτὸς** αὐτὸν **τάξεων** κατηύνασεν
Ἕκτωρ, ἕως ἂν **νύκτ'** ἀμείψηται φάος.

By pointing out the fact that Rhesus' army is not integrated into the main camp, Athena renders attractive to Odysseus and Diomedes an attack on the Thracians. She thereby also reveals the danger that the separation causes for the Thracians.[54]

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53 The expression τέτακται (612) highlights the idea of an order, of which Odysseus imagines Rhesus' army being a part, and generates irony due to the fact that the Thracians are not only not integrated into such an order but also do not have any order within their camp (see below).

54 A subtle verbal reflection of the imminent threat can be seen in the repeated use of κατευνάζω (611, 614), which can refer not only to sleep, but also to death ('put to death,' see also LSJ s.v. κατευνάζω with reference to S. *Ant.* 833, and LSJ s.v. εὐνάζω A II.). The verb is used only here, when the murder is envisaged, and not before, when Hector prompts Rhesus to go to sleep (518–520: there, the verbs καταυλίζω and νυχεύω are employed). And most strikingly, the simplex εὐνάζω resurfaces in the charioteer's messenger speech: ἡμᾶς ηὔνασ' Ἑκτόρεια χείρ (762). Given that the charioteer is convinced that Hector himself ordered the massacre (cf. 802–803, 833–855), the connotation of 'putting to death' is quite noticeable. See also LSJ s.v. εὐνάζω, who classify this passage under the metaphorical meaning ('of death').

Therefore, Hector's attempt to react appropriately to the circumstances and to take into account the special requirements of the nighttime, by advising Rhesus to set up camp separately, may perhaps maintain the order of his main camp—yet by the same means Hector unwittingly exposes his ally to deadly peril.

Yet it is not only the fact of being separated from the ordered camp that puts Rhesus in jeopardy: there is also the danger of disarray on a smaller scale. When Rhesus' charioteer after the massacre appears as a messenger, the terms of night and τάξις (now in the sense of 'order') resurface (*Rh.* 762–769):

> As soon as Hector had told us the watchword and his guiding hand found us a place to sleep, we slept, overcome by weariness from our long march. The army did not stand guard duty in nightly watches, nor was our armor laid out in order or the goads set in place next to the horses' yokes, since our king had been told that your side was victorious and were lying in wait to attack the ship prows. So we fell down in no order and slept.
>
> ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ηὔνασ' Ἑκτόρεια χείρ,
> ξύνθημα λέξας, ηὕδομεν πεδοστιβεῖ
> κόπωι δαμέντες, οὐδ' ἐφρουρεῖτο στρατὸς
> φυλακαῖσι **νυκτέροισιν οὐδ' ἐν τάξεσιν**
> ἔκειτο τεύχη πλῆκτρά τ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ζυγοῖς
> ἵππων καθήρμοσθ', ὡς ἄναξ ἐπεύθετο
> κρατοῦντας ὑμᾶς κἀφεδρεύοντας νεῶν
> πρύμναισι· φαύλως δ' ηὕδομεν **πεπτωκότες**.

When the two Greeks then attacked Rhesus and his men, any defense was impossible, *inter alia* because due to the mess in the camp the weapons were not at hand (cf. 792–793). A particular irony lies in the charioteer's remark that they 'just fell and slept' (769); the participle πεπτωκότες, used here in its literal sense, but elsewhere frequently signifying 'dead soldiers,' already implies the Thracians' imminent fate of death in sleep.[55]

On the one hand, this passage illustrates both how the night contributes to the emergence of disorder and the way in which nocturnal disorder proves to be a source of acute danger. On the other hand, the passage presents Rhesus as a foil for Hector with regard to their behavior in view of the requirements

55 Likewise, the verb εὕδω (769) can relate to dead people. Cf. LSJ s.vv. πίπτω B II, and εὕδω A 'of the *sleep of death*,' with reference to *Il.* 14.482 and S. *OC* 621.

of the night. Hector is at pains to take all precautions that are necessary, but he still does not think far enough ahead. By contrast, Rhesus, with his chaotic and unguarded camp, only takes into account one single necessity: his natural need, that is, to sleep.[56]

In the end, the issue of nocturnal disorder shows how once more, at least in the case of Hector assigning to Rhesus a separate place to encamp, the dramatic action in *Rhesus* takes a tragic turn precisely because Hector tries to pay heed to the special requirements of the night. In contrast to Rhesus, Hector is thus clearly cast as a tragic figure. His decisions lead to the fatal loss of his ally, even though he acts to the best of his knowledge and not without partial justification.[57]

Hector may perhaps not fully realize the significance of Rhesus' death—he is sure to win in any case—, but Athena's explanation to Odysseus and Diomedes in lines 600–604 points out how momentous it is: in the case that Rhesus survives the night, he would decisively defeat the Greeks.[58] Thus, for the play's recipients, the possibility of an alternative scenario (the Trojans winning the war) emerges, which is at once shattered by Rhesus' murder. It is in this discrepancy between what could hypothetically have happened and what did actually happen,[59] that the *Rhesus*' tragic quality is ultimately anchored.[60]

56 That the disorder in Rhesus' camp is not to be seen as a random feature of the story, but as a purposefully applied motif, becomes manifest by considering the Thracians' description in the Iliadic intertext. There, the Thracians are likewise sleeping from exhaustion (οἳ δ' ηὗδον καμάτωι ἀδηκότες, *Il.* 10.471), but everything is in good order, especially the weapons (ἔντεα δέ σφιν / καλὰ παρ' αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο εὖ κατὰ κόσμον, / τριστοιχεί, *Il.* 10.471–473). Cf. also Roisman 2015, 19–20.

57 For various aspects of Hector's central role in the *Rhesus*, see Rosivach 1978; Perris 2012, esp. 164; Roisman 2015; Mattison 2015, 492–497.

58 This adumbration is presumably based on an alternative version of the Rhesus-myth (known from the scholia to *Il.* 10.435), where according to an oracle Rhesus would become invincible once he and his horses drank from the Scamander; cf. Fenik 1964; Burnett 1985, 31–32 with nn. 59–60; Barrett 2002, 172; Liapis 2012, xx. The scholia also indicate that in a Pindaric version Rhesus fought with great success for one day before the gods decided to have him killed; cf. Ritchie 1964, 62–64; Liapis 2012, xviii–ix.

59 In this, however, the *condicio humana* and the role of the gods and of fate, which eventually render impossible a favorable development, must always be kept in mind; see also Jouan 2004, LV–LVI and Rosivach 1978, 63.

60 Significantly, the non-tragic treatment of the Rhesus-myth in the *Iliad* does not hint at any particular importance or capability in Rhesus. In *Iliad* 10, he is just a noble Trojan ally owning marvelous horses. Cf. also Rosivach 1978, 62 and Fantuzzi 2006b, 140–141, who points out that the motif of promising Trojan allies being killed (e.g., Memnon, Eurypylus, Cycnus) was quite popular in tragedy.

5 Conclusion

In all the passages discussed within the course of this study, references to the night appear in the context of events or statements which can be subsumed under the headings of breaking through structures and the collapse of structures. A basic result of my analysis can be seen in the fact that the thematic fields of transgression, agitation, and disorder form the core of the role of night in *Rhesus*. Moreover, it became clear that night not only constitutes an extraordinary temporal background for the play and that the numerous references to night do not merely serve as an authentic decoration of the play's plot. There is also more than a symbolic connection of night to insecurity and obscured minds. In fact, night proves to be a decisive element of the action by having a concrete impact on the characters' perception, thoughts, and behavior. In particular, the characters take into account the special circumstances and requirements of the night, and gear their reactions and decisions towards them.[61]

Night's status as an integral part of the plot's development is a feature that differentiates the *Rhesus* from all other extant tragedies, where references to night appear only occasionally, as well as from its pre-text, *Iliad* 10. Concerning the *Iliad* as a whole, there are doubtless parallels in the role of night, such as the frequent link between night and transgression, but the *Iliad's* focus lies in general more on the nocturnal establishment of structures. Especially in *Iliad* 10, where the narration is centered mainly on the Greek spies' successful raid, the challenges of the nighttime enterprise are effectively met,[62] and to this extent night's influence is more restricted. In all, night's tragic potential is developed much less in *Iliad* 10 than it is later by the author of the *Rhesus*.[63]

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61 The necessity to choose the right behavior at night can be connected to the role of night as a time of testing—identified, for example, in Joosse's and Pieper's chapters in this volume.

62 Cf., e.g., Paduano 1973, 14; Dué and Ebbott 2010. Another medium treating the nocturnal ambush on Rhesus is vase-painting. Four complete vases portraying the scene of his murder are preserved, and on some of them the nighttime is markedly indicated; e.g., by a star (on an Apulian volute krater, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. V.I.3157) and by a campfire, as well as by the fact that Odysseus leads Rhesus' horses without regular bridles (on another Apulian volute krater, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. 1984.39). See Giuliani 1995, 98 and 1996, 79–80, who also discusses the depictions' relationship to the *Rhesus*-tragedy and to *Iliad* 10; also True 1995 on another depiction of the scene. Furthermore, comparisons can be drawn between *Rhesus* and other related literary scenes of nocturnal ambush, which could be directly influenced by the Rhesus myth, such as several passages in Roman epic (e.g., the episodes of Nisus and Euryalus in *Aeneid* 9 and of Hopleus/Dymas and Actor/Agylleus in *Thebaid* 10; cf. Casali 2018), or derived from common Indo-European story patterns, like *Mahabharata* 10 (see Fries 2016).

63 For comparisons between *Iliad* 10 and the *Rhesus* in general, see, e.g., Ritchie 1964, 64–

How, then, can we sum up night's *tragic* role in the *Rhesus*? The analysis in this chapter shows that it can be found on different levels. Firstly, we came across several small moments that may be labeled as 'tragic irony' in modern terminology. In these cases the recipients are able to recognize in a character's statement allusions to a misfortune that will happen or has already happened, whereas the character remains unaware of this ambiguity. Examples included Hector telling about Odysseus' former nocturnal crime or the chorus trying not to disturb the sleeping allies when some of them have already been slain.

Secondly, and most importantly, night's dominant tragic feature is connected to the pervasive motif of misguided decisions. Hardly anyone in *Rhesus*, it seems, is able to act prudently, even though the characters mostly try to do so. In the passages analyzed above, the Trojan characters clearly make an effort to take into account the special challenges of their nocturnal circumstances—for example, the risk that the Greek army secretly travels home by night, as well as the risk that certain movements or sounds can evoke panic in the Trojan camp.[64] Nevertheless, as they always miss certain momentous aspects, in a way it is just their well-meant efforts that lead to the disastrous results of the play's night.[65]

I would like to close with some broader considerations about the play's night values. In a very general sense, the semantics of night conveyed in the *Rhesus* are of a kind that we tend to regard as primordial. First and foremost, night appears as a destructive or at least challenging time which triggers danger and a loss of control and of order. At the same time, night's destabilizing feature obtains special significance due to its impact on the plot—because the characters prove to be aware of it (e.g., Hector's firm conviction that the Greeks will take flight) and try to prevent certain risks that emerge from it. Night's dan-

78 and 83–86; Fenik 1964; Burnett 1985, 15–16; Bond 1996; Barrett 2002, 168–189; Dué and Ebbott 2010, 121–135; Fries 2014, 8–11; Roisman 2015.

64 Even Odysseus acts in a very similar way when he convinces Diomedes to return to their camp after they did not find their intended victim, Hector (582–594). While Diomedes prefers to find and kill another Trojan, Odysseus points to the dangers of moving in the enemy camp by night (587–588). Only Athena's divine intervention prevents them from returning empty-handed.

65 This interpretation can also shed new light on the much-criticized issue of Hector changing his mind too easily when he gets advice. While this has been judged as implausible and inappropriate for a tragic hero (see especially Burnett 1985, 19–20 and 26, but also Pearson 1921, 59 and Roisman 2015, 9 and 20), I would argue that especially when Hector gives in to Aeneas at the beginning (*Rh.* 87–152), this seemingly reasonable but eventually fatal change of mind is an important element of Hector's tragic role.

gerous side is not just recognized and accepted, but actively dealt with (even though the effort somehow backfires).

Is there a distinct positive facet of night?[66] In *Rhesus*, night proves helpful only in a very restricted way, primarily with regard to the Greek spies' enterprise; but we have already seen that those two are likewise challenged by the nocturnal circumstances. In *Rhesus*, night also does not figure as a time providing insights, but rather the opposite, since the characters repeatedly make bad decisions. Strictly speaking, though, their decisions are not misguided because it is night—they just revolve around considerations which are linked to the night's special requirements. But even if night does not prove beneficial for the characters, at least—on a higher level—the poet himself succeeds in making use of the nocturnal setting in order to create the play's tragic atmosphere.

All in all, I hope that, in the process of drawing attention to the role of night and its tragic impact, I have identified some pervasive motifs within the *Rhesus* that may enhance our appreciation of the play's composition, allowing us to recognize that its fabric is not as clumsy as is sometimes assumed. In any case, the *Rhesus* is worthy of being interpreted seriously.

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66 For various productive aspects of night see the introduction to this volume, pp. 2–10.

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CHAPTER 9

The Witching Hour: Troubled Women in Homer, Apollonius, and Theocritus

Amelia Bensch-Schaus

1 Introduction

In the dark of the night, dangers abound. Some are external, like robbers and raiders, while others emerge from within the home. As most people retire to their beds, others can think, act, and speak as they wish with far greater freedom than they would dare in the daytime. This freedom is particularly appealing for those who are disenfranchized in some way, such as women or slaves. Away from the prying gaze of the male elite, these groups are free to speak and act in a way that expresses their hidden thoughts. Some glimpses of this relative freedom appear in the poetry of Sappho, who references the night as a time for female activity and reflection.[1] For male poets, however, imagining what women might do with this relative liberty can create a good deal of anxiety. Portraying women's activity at night becomes a way to focalize male concern about what women really feel and how they might express those feelings without proper supervision.[2]

Since the depiction of women's activity at night is relatively rare in Greek literature, the four instances discussed here are particularly remarkable: Penelope and an unnamed slave in the *Odyssey*, Medea in the *Argonautica*, and Simaetha and her slave in Theocritus' *Idyll* 2. All five figures, I will argue, become associated with magic during the night, yet these magical activities are merely superficial indications of the inherent danger they pose.[3] Their real threat stems not from an ability to wield magic or any other extraordinary weapon,

1 See Schlesier 2018 for a discussion of night in Sappho. Fragment 168B is particularly important, and, while its authorship is not certain, both Schlesier 2018 and Clay 2011 have made convincing cases for its attribution to Sappho. Schlesier 2018 concludes that Sappho depicts the night more positively than other, male archaic poets do.

2 Misgivings about nocturnal work go back to Hesiod's *Works and Days*, as Atkins discusses in this volume (32–33); Atkins also links Night's identity as a female deity in the *Theogony* with women's wickedness, as embodied by Pandora (41–43).

3 Sancinito presents an interesting parallel in this volume of inns becoming a locus for a similar combination of nocturnal activity, magic, and women, in this case, as innkeepers (244–247).

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but simply from their experiences as women. Since social structures have forced them to depend on a man for stability and protection, whether he is a husband, lover, or (in the case of a slave) an owner, these women encounter serious troubles in the absence of this male figure. During the relative freedom of the night, they finally have the opportunity to express their grief and narrate their own experience. The poets convey these women's experiences by allowing them to speak for themselves in ways that reflect not only their gender but also their social status. In each example, women at different ends of the social spectrum are compared in a way that deepens their individuality while simultaneously emphasizing the concerns that unite them as members of the same gender—much as in Melbin's notion of night as a 'frontier,' in which people are likely to band together in the face of perceived dangers (1987, 67–73). As women, whether slaves or queens, are depicted as using the night to express their grief, this becomes a dangerous process because these women are not just speaking but also acting, producing tangible results through their own efforts or with the help of others. Night offers these women an opportunity to both reflect on their suffering and act with relatively little supervision, and this combination can lead to deadly results.

The three poems discussed below depict different versions of magical behavior at night. Medea is a famous sorceress, yet performs no magic at night, instead experiencing the grief that any woman in love can feel. Simaetha spends her evening on an elaborate, if ineffective, form of enchantment before giving in to the same lovelorn grief that ensnares Medea. The two women from the *Odyssey* differ from these later women in that the text treats neither woman as a witch. Nonetheless, these two women's nighttime work yields results that men deem 'magical,' in part because they lead to effects that lie beyond the normal scope of female power. Throughout this range of behavior, all women ultimately move beyond the trappings of magic to expose their gender as the real threat.[4]

2 The *Argonautica*: Medea's Burning Love and Twisting Heart

Out of the five women under consideration, Medea is the most obviously dangerous. The witch *par excellence*, she controls powerful magic and does not hesitate to direct it against a number of her enemies. By the Hellenistic period, her violent deeds had come to define her character in such influential works

4 Kunst likewise considers the depiction of witches in literature, including Medea, as a reflection of gender concerns (Kunst 2007, 150–156), contrasting how magic and gender interacted historically (on which see Faraone 2001, 2002; Dickie 2001).

as Euripides' eponymous play.[5] Apollonius, however, differs from his literary precursor in depicting Medea primarily as a lovelorn young woman. His sympathetic approach to the character has made his depiction of her being tormented by love in *Argonautica* 3 the most celebrated portion of his epic. A striking simile begins this section, describing the moment Medea first sees Jason and marking the transition from Eros the divinity, the naughty child who shoots the princess for the price of a new toy, to eros the abstraction of love[6] (A.R. 3.291–298):[7]

> And just as when a woman that spins wool for a living, who has always been busy working, puts twigs around a glowing torch so that she can prepare a light in her house at night, sitting very close to it; and the light, inexpressibly kindled from the little torch, destroys all the twigs together—in such a way did destructive love, crouching underneath Medea's heart, burn in secret. And she changes her tender cheeks' color, now pale, now blushing, in the anguish of her mind.

> ὡς δὲ γυνὴ μαλερῷ περὶ κάρφεα χεύετο δαλῷ
> χερνῆτις, τῇ περ ταλασήια ἔργα μέμηλεν,
> ὥς κεν ὑπωρόφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναιτο,
> ἄγχι μάλ' ἑζομένη· τὸ δ' ἀθέσφατον ἐξ ὀλίγοιο
> δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον σὺν κάρφεα πάντ' ἀμαθύνει—
> τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρῃ
> οὖλος ἔρως· ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρειὰς
> ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο.

The direct point of comparison in this simile is somewhat commonplace, as love is often imagined as a fire.[8] But the implicit comparison of Medea with the spinner is arresting. Few non-elite characters appear in this epic, and there is a tension between the spinner, working away in the final hours of the night, and Medea, feasting in a palace where she can spend the night in soliloquies about her emotional state.[9] Not only is Medea able to grieve in physical com-

5 Hunter discusses the importance of Euripides' *Medea* to the *Argonautica*, going so far as to deem the entire poem essentially a commentary on the play's events (Hunter 1989, 18–19 and 1993, 123–124).
6 Clack 1973, 311, following Quinn's observation on the role of Amor/*amor* in Prop. 2.12 (Quinn 1963, 170–174).
7 The Greek is from Hunter 1989. All translations are my own.
8 The image is particularly common in epigrams; cf. Call. *Epigr.* 44, Gow and Page 6, 17, 37, 68, 105. It also occurs in Theoc. 2, discussed below.
9 Medea first lays eyes on Jason at a feast welcoming the Argonauts (3.270–301).

fort, she also manages to resolve the cause of her grief in the process. Her nocturnal lament for Jason's imminent death attracts the attention of a slave who alerts her sister, Chalciope, and she is then able to convince Medea to help the Argonauts, thereby providing her with an excuse to prevent the death of her beloved.[10] While Medea's situation attracts the household's attention, the poor woman does not even elicit much notice from the narrator, who shows no emotion for her situation and instead focuses on the fire as the sole point of explicit overlap. Yet the brief comments about this spinning woman hint at the harsh life of the poor, and, by the implicit comparison with Medea, readers are invited to view her with some share of the sympathy they feel for the poem's heroine. While the poor woman's world is closed off, Medea's imagined interior world opens up in the next section of the poem as she spends a great deal of time describing her lovelorn dilemma.[11] While there is significant dissonance between the status of each woman, the relative obscurity of the toiling woman allows for a certain suggestion of resemblance.

Apollonius does not leave this dissonant simile in isolation, but rather circles back to the comparison in book 4. In this second simile, Medea has fled Colchis with the Argonauts and come to Drepane.[12] She has just finished begging for mercy, but is left in limbo for the night, with the Phaeacians' decision about whether to protect her from her father unclear. This will be the night of her wedding, though she does not yet know it. While the Argonauts fall asleep, misery keeps Medea awake lamenting her fate (A.R. 4.1060–1067):

> But sleep did not let her rest for a moment, instead her heart twisted itself around in her breast, grieving, as when a woman who endures toil twists her spindle in the night, and her orphaned children cry around her, since she has lost her husband; and she lets tears drip down her face, weeping about what a sad fate has overcome her—in this way did Medea's cheeks become wet, and her heart twisted around, having been pierced through with sharp pains.

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10 The role of the female slave as intermediary again associates Medea with a non-elite woman. In another simile about Medea's grief, she is likened to a young widow who feels timid in front of the slaves in her dead husband's household (3.654–664), again opening up the social horizons of the poem through the imagined world of the simile.

11 This happens at several points throughout the book, but the speech that best captures her state of mind that night occurs at 3.771–801.

12 Apollonius refers to the land of the Phaeacians, called Scherie in the *Odyssey*, by its earlier name, Drepane, while also identifying it with the real-world island of Corcyra (Hunter 1993, 68).

τὴν δ' οὔ τι μίνυνθά περ εὔνασεν ὕπνος,
ἀλλά οἱ ἐν στέρνοις ἀχέων εἱλίσσετο θυμός,
οἷον ὅτε κλωστῆρα γυνὴ ταλαεργὸς ἑλίσσει
ἐννυχίη, τῇ δ' ἀμφὶ κινύρεται ὀρφανὰ τέκνα,
χηροσύνῃ πόσιος· σταλάει δ' ἐπὶ δάκρυ παρειάς
μυρομένης οἵη μιν ἐπισμυγερὴ λάβεν αἶσα·
ὣς τῆς ἰκμαίνοντο παρηίδες, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
ὀξείῃς εἱλεῖτο πεπαρμένον ἀμφ' ὀδύνῃσι.

The parallel with the earlier simile is clear, as a second woman working in the dark appears, in this case one forced to spin throughout the night.[13] The direct point of comparison is, again, an aspect of the woman's work, the spindle turning, that, like the burning of the twigs earlier, comes to reflect Medea's inner turmoil. The vocabulary reinforces this point, as the verb ἑλίσσω applies in the active to the twisting of the worker's spindle and in the middle to the twisting of Medea's heart. The difference in voice in part brings out the different statuses of the women, since the worker is actively producing something while Medea's θυμός only affects her own state of mind. Yet the overlap between the women ultimately dominates, since Medea weeping in her grief is directly likened to the weeping widow. Furthermore, the spinner has no apparent escape from her fate of ceaseless toil. Medea's grief, however, once again brings about her salvation; moved by her plight, Arete wields her influence over Alcinous in their marital bed, devising a plan to protect the distraught maiden once she marries Jason (4.1068–1069).[14] Again, Medea, by virtue of her social privilege, uses her grief to elicit help from a fellow elite woman.

At first glance, these poor working women in the similes hardly seem to be dangerous, even if they are experiencing grief. Yet danger lurks beneath the surface of the text. In the first simile, the description of the working woman kindling the fire emphasizes how quickly and completely that fire engulfs the twigs. The fast-burning torch will run out quickly, and so, by analogy, the burning love that Medea feels could end abruptly and in total destruction.[15] This

13 On these similes as doublets, see Fantuzzi 1988, 142–145; Hunter 1989, 130; and Hunter 1993, 65.

14 One can understand this scene as an imagined follow-up to the various scenes in which the king and queen go off to bed together in the *Odyssey*: Menelaus and Helen (*Od.* 4.304–305), Odysseus and Penelope (23.295–343), and especially Arete and Alcinous themselves (7.346–347). In this scene, Apollonius allows us to peek behind the doors that Homer leaves closed. For further analysis of the Homeric comparison here, see Montiglio 2016, 188–191.

15 Hunter 1989, 130. *Contra* Johnson, who sees the scene as light-hearted and almost comic (Johnson 1976, 41–44).

will turn out to be the case, as Medea will punish Jason gravely after his betrayal has extinguished her love for him. While many years pass between their love's kindling and extinguishing, the literary tradition elides this time, focusing on the start of their love here and jumping straight to its dramatic conclusion in tragedy. Even beyond its connection with love, the imagery of fire is particularly ominous in connection with Medea, since in Euripides' play flame imagery occurs only in the gruesome description of how her poisoned cloak melts Glauce's flesh.[16] In this light, the destructive power of the torch takes on an especially sinister tone. Like Medea's love for Jason, it appears helpful in the short term, but could ultimately prove devastating.

The sense of foreboding based on Medea's future is even more pervasive in book 4. By likening Medea on the eve of her wedding to a widow, Apollonius reminds his audience of the future in which Medea will be separated from her husband. The image of crying children in the simile is particularly poignant, since Medea's own children will cry not at the death of their father but in a vain attempt to prevent their own murder.[17] Medea will not be a widow with wailing children, but childless with a husband lamenting his fate. Medea's future actions and literary past hang over her Apollonian version, and these similes are some of the moments at which the weight of these other versions of her character is felt most keenly.

At these moments, the similes serve to bring out Medea's danger as a woman rather than as a witch. Elsewhere in the text, Medea uses her magical abilities to overcome significant obstacles that stymie the Argonauts, and she can seem more powerful than the male heroes.[18] Given the nocturnal associations of magic and Medea's favored goddess, Hecate, the audience would expect Medea to enact her magic at night. This has clearly been the case in the past, as there are various references to her casting spells in the dark (e.g., 4.54–65).

16 E. *Med.* 1185–1202. While there is no significant overlap in vocabulary between these scenes, the Euripidean account of Glauce's demise may have been macabre enough to spring to mind here for Apollonius and his audience. The only other mention of fire in the play occurs briefly in line 378, when Medea contemplates burning Glauce's bridal chamber.

17 Near the play's end, both children cry out and beg to be spared while the chorus listens (*Med.* 1271–1281). Hurst also sees an allusion here to the events at Corinth, but connects the crying with Medea's tears as she kills her children (Hurst 2015, 92).

18 For the importance of Medea's magic over Jason's heroics, see Hunter 1993, 15–24. In addition to the importance of Medea's help in Colchis, the Talos episode is particularly striking, since even at the end of the epic the Argonauts are not able to overcome an enemy without her help (A.R. 4.1649–1653). On Greek witches in general and their ability to wield power over men, see Spaeth 2014.

In the present situation of the narrative, however, Medea spends her memorable night not on spells but on storytelling, as she pours out her perspective on her difficult situation.[19] Like her reflection on the dangers of love, these framing similes emphasize Medea's humanity by relating her suffering to that experienced by other women. Unlike her less privileged counterparts, however, Medea can act on her grief, and this universalizing perspective reminds the audience that she will go on to commit her most despicable act—the murder of her own children—not by magic but moved by the suffering that any oppressed woman can feel.[20]

3 *Idyll* 2: Simaetha's Spell and Thestylis' Silence

Apollonius' contemporary Theocritus presents another woman who undertakes magical work and is enmeshed in the nets of love, albeit in a lighthearted rather than tragic tone.[21] In *Idyll* 2, Simaetha works through the night with the help of her slave, Thestylis, to create a magical concoction to draw her errant lover, Delphis, back to her. While narrating, Simaetha continually draws attention to the nocturnal setting. She specifies that she is working at night by line 8, and throughout the poem she addresses Selene overhead (2.10, 69, etc.). She also chooses an appropriate model for her nighttime magic, namely Medea, at line 16.[22] In fact, as in the first Apollonian simile, Simaetha even adopts the metaphor of love as a fire when describing her feelings for Delphis (40), and explicitly links the burning of love with the burning of her magic (24–29).[23] Yet despite her aspirations to have drugs as effective as those of the Colchian

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19 Duncan 2001 emphasizes Medea's importance as a narrator and poet figure in the latter half of the *Argonautica*. Montiglio emphasizes that while Medea may seem passive by merely talking all night, she is actively making the pivotal decision to help Jason (Montiglio 2016, 174–176).

20 In some ways, this generalizing of Medea's grief as a circumstance common to women is reminiscent of her famous speech on the plight of women in Euripides' *Medea* (230–251).

21 For a comic reading of Theoc. *Idyll* 2, see Lambert 2002.

22 She also compares herself to Medea's aunt, Circe, and the somewhat mysterious Perimede, who may be a (deliberate) misremembering of a witch mentioned in the *Iliad*, Agamede (*Il.* 11.740). Dover identifies Simaetha primarily with Medea, even calling her a "suburban Medea," a term which Griffiths adopts as well (Dover 1994, 95 and Griffiths 1981, 251).

23 Parry as well as Likosky note the importance of fire in relation to love and desire in this poem (Parry 1988, 46 and Likosky 2018, 84–91). Given the overlap in the career of both poets, it is not productive to speculate whether one of the poems is responding to the other.

princess, Simaetha is a very different witch than Medea. She inhabits the contemporary Hellenistic world rather than the world of the mythological past, and her magic is far less effective.[24] At both the beginning and the end of the poem, she considers alternative strategies. At the start, she leaves the real action for the next day, saying that she will walk to Delphis' gymnasium and confront him—but for now, νῦν δέ, she will merely work on her magic (10). Her goal is the concrete action of the next day, framing the whole activity of the poem as a way to pass the time until she can take real action. At the end of the poem, Simaetha again expresses doubt about the effectiveness of her magic, saying (Theoc. 2.159–162):[25]

> For now I will enchant him with these spells; if he should still cause me grief, he will be knocking on the gates of Hades, by the Fates; for I say that I keep such evil drugs in my basket, having learned about them, lady, from that Assyrian stranger.

> νῦν μὲν τοῖς φίλτροις καταδήσομαι· αἰ δ' ἔτι κά με
> λυπῇ, τὰν Ἀίδαο πύλαν, ναὶ Μοίρας, ἀραξεῖ·
> τοῖά οἱ ἐν κίστᾳ κακὰ φάρμακα φαμὶ φυλάσσειν,
> Ἀσσυρίω, δέσποινα, παρὰ ξείνοιο μαθοῖσα.

While her spell may not work, she is sure that poison will. Simaetha has spent over a third of the poem enacting her love spell in convincing detail, but closes by mentioning the seemingly more effective and darker potion at her disposal.[26] The detail in which she has described the preparation of her own spell makes this later poison seem distanced from her, a concoction she received from an Assyrian man. Ultimately, the real threat to Delphis seems to stem from this poison, which is not something she made through her own magical abilities but something she accessed through a peddler of poisons who presumably

24 Domány 2013 argues that Simaetha's magic fails because her practice does not align with the guidelines for ritual and magic that the near-contemporary Paris papyrus seems to follow. Griffiths also considers the spell a failure in accomplishing its object, although the pharmakon of her song provides Simaetha with some calm (Griffiths 1979, 88).

25 The text for Theoc. *Idyll* 2 is from Dover 1994.

26 Faraone categorizes her spell as an ἀγωγή ritual, meant to draw her lover out to her, with elements characteristic of binding spells, or κατάδεσμοι (Faraone 2001, 142–143). Both are common types of spells that would have been fairly mundane at this time, as Theocritus demonstrates in his accurate knowledge of contemporary handbooks and practices (Faraone 2001, 38 and Petrovic 2007, 15–40).

visited a number of other women. Like Medea, Simaetha becomes threatening mainly because of her gender, not her magical abilities.[27]

As in the *Argonautica* similes, a slave or poor woman is present to contrast with the relative privilege of the heroine. Simaetha provides a slightly different version of this motif, since she lacks the audience of elite peers present in a royal household. Additionally, Simaetha is not part of the narrative, but rather the narrator of her own monologue. In this particular set of circumstances, her expression of grief does not elicit help from her peers as much as strengthen her literary legitimacy. At line 64, Thestylis leaves to sprinkle the potion on Delphis' doorstep and Simaetha remarks that she is finally alone. At this point, the tone of the poem changes significantly.[28] For the first 63 lines, Simaetha has been ordering Thestylis around and listing all the ingredients necessary for the potion, and the poem's refrain has been: 'Wryneck, you draw that man to my home.'[29] Once Simaetha is alone, however, the refrain changes to: 'Consider where my love came from, lady Moon.'[30] She has advanced from a bird to a goddess. Simaetha matches her tone to her new, elevated addressee, and goes from relatively simple instructions to a detailed narration of her love affair with Delphis, including stylized descriptions of her emotional state. She describes how she felt in his presence in terms that imitate Sappho's famous description of being near her beloved.[31] As she tells Selene (Theoc. 2.106–110):

> I became cold everywhere, more than snow, and sweat streamed from my forehead like moist dew, and I was not able to make any sound, not even

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27 Furthermore, whatever magic she practices may be threatening only because it is typical of a man (Faraone 2001, 154–156), as is her assertive role in the relationship (Burton 1995, 43–44). Lambert takes the opposite approach, arguing that her magic is laughably ineffective because a woman is practicing magic, which is properly the domain of men (Lambert 2002, 84–85).

28 While the subject matter and refrain of the poem change at this point, the magical connotations remain in this second half. Petrovic has argued that, in narrating her love affair and showing how Delphis has wronged her, Simaetha appeals to justice to validate her spell, which has parallels in other magical texts (Petrovic 2007, 41–56).

29 ἶυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα. This reference to the ἶυγξ could be a further reference to Medea for the alert reader, since Pindar tells us that Jason persuaded Medea to help him by means of this mad bird (*P.* 4.213–219). For the ἶυγξ and Jason's use of it, see Faraone 2001, 65.

30 φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα. Selene is an appropriate addressee for a woman in love according to a scholiast on Pindar (*ad Id. 2.10b*, discussed by Faraone 2001, 138–139).

31 For a detailed treatment of the similarities and differences between Theocritus and Sappho here, see Pretagostini 1977 and Segal 1984.

as much as children whimper, when they cry out for their dear mother in their sleep; but I had become stiff everywhere on my beautiful skin, like a puppet.

πᾶσα μὲν ἐψύχθην χιόνος πλέον, ἐκ δὲ μετώπω
ἱδρώς μευ κοχύδεσκεν ἴσον νοτίαισιν ἐέρσαις,
οὐδέ τι φωνᾶσαι δυνάμαν, οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐν ὕπνῳ
κνυζεῦνται φωνεῦντα φίλαν ποτὶ ματέρα τέκνα·
ἀλλ' ἐπάγην δαγῦδι καλὸν χρόα πάντοθεν ἴσα.

There are several points at which Simaetha imitates her Lesbian antecedent directly, particularly in describing love in terms of burning and her inability to speak. In place of Sappho's quaking reaction to her love, Simaetha substitutes a puppet-like stiffness. In Simaetha's hands, the description takes a darker turn through her mention of children whimpering, an image that becomes particularly disturbing when paired with the mention of Medea in line 16 and the wailing orphans in Apollonius' second Medea simile. Simaetha is no Sappho, but that does not stop her from further attempts at poetic grandeur. Elsewhere, she adds epic touches, such as using φράζεο to mean 'observe' in a Homeric sense in her refrain and addressing the horses of rosy Dawn to indicate the passage of time.[32] Like many of Theocritus' humble characters, Simaetha as narrator does not have as much control over her own register and language as she thinks.[33] In the absence of a royal household, Simaetha instead speaks to a literary audience through the Moon herself. She creates an audience for her grief that she imagines to be capable of appreciating the elevated tone in which she establishes her identity as a woman wronged.

While Simaetha is busy fashioning her self-presentation for this imagined audience, she pays no heed to her actual audience, the slave Thestylis. Unlike in the *Argonautica*, where the relationship between Medea and the working women is only imagined, here slave and elite women occupy the same space at night and could interact directly. Their proximity, however, serves mainly to show how far apart they really are. The correspondence between the two women is even less than in the imagined scenarios; there can be no point of comparison with Thestylis, because she is denied a voice and any interiority.

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32 For the Homeric flavor of φράζεο, see Andrews 1996, 26. Dawn is addressed as Ἀῶ τὰν ῥοδόεσσαν at 2.148.

33 Griffiths sees Simaetha as less than learned, despite her efforts (Griffiths 1979, 83–88). Duncan 2001, however, shows how Simaetha is a complex enough narrator to stand in as a representation of the poet.

As Damon points out, the poem does at least hint at her frame of mind by having Simaetha address Thestylis' apparent reluctance in performing her tasks at 2.19–20 (Damon 1995, 120). It is particularly surprising that there is so little overlap given that the difference between the women's social status is the smallest here; while Simaetha's exact class or profession is debatable, she is certainly not royalty like Penelope or Medea.[34] The soliloquy in *Idyll* 2 demonstrates how the social gulf yawns larger in reality than it does in narrative juxtaposition.

Despite the disparate power dynamics here, Thestylis is not completely deprived of the dangerous power that night can provide to women. The poem indicates her importance early on, by having Simaetha address her emphatically by name in the opening line. Named but voiceless, Thestylis can at least act, as it is she who leaves the house to sprinkle the love potion and has left the house in the past to summon Delphis to her mistress (2.62–63). Simaetha, on the other hand, may wax romantic at the Moon, but can only imagine the possibility of leaving the house to confront her wayward lover.[35] Both women are deprived of key activities—Thestylis of speaking and Simaetha of acting outside the home—but together they are able to enact their magic, such as it is, and, in the future, their deadly poison. As in the ominous similes about Medea, it is the combination of a witch with a woman at work that evokes the danger of all women.

4 The *Odyssey*: Penelope's Trick and a Slave's Prayer

Medea and Simaetha are not without earlier literary models, and, as is so often the case with Hellenistic poetry, Homer offers abundant source material. Simaetha herself mentions her literary predecessor, opining that her magic will be as effective as that of the Odyssean Circe (2.15–16). This witch, like Medea, is an aspirational figure who had become an embodiment of successful female magic. For the Medea similes, commentators such as Hunter point out that both draw their imagery from *Iliad* 12.433–435.[36] There, the narrator compares the evenly matched Achaean and Trojan forces to the weights that a woman uses to measure wool, a woman who must spin in order to feed her children. While this Iliadic model involves a similar image, its themes differ significantly from those of the *Argonautica*. In the latter poem, both similes at least implic-

34 Likosky includes a recent summary of the debate on Simaetha's age and profession, concluding that she is not meant to be perceived as a hetaira (Likosky 2018, 82–83).

35 For the importance of the division between inside and outside in this poem and how it maps onto gender, see Segal 1985.

36 See Clack 1973, 311; Hunter 1989, 130; and Hunter 2015, 227.

itly compare Medea suffering during the night to women working and grieving during the night, making the overlap of the real and imagined timing a key point of comparison. The *Iliad* simile does not specify when the woman's wool working takes place, making daytime the assumed setting. Apollonius' similes usually have a closer link between the narrative circumstances and the situation evoked in the simile than their Homeric models do, and the twin passages involving Medea are no exception, with the night forming a crucial part of the link.[37] Moreover, both situations focus on Medea's emotional state, be it her love or her grief, and, by extension, that of the poor women, while the *Iliad* passage occurs within a battle narrative and does not mention the woman's feelings. Instead, I propose that the *Odyssey* is a necessary model for appreciating the full significance of both Simaetha and Medea in these passages. In particular, two female characters in the latter poem serve as essential models for these nighttime workers, namely Penelope and Odysseus' grain-grinding slave. These two women, at opposite ends of the Ithacan social hierarchy, are not often connected, but both women work at night and, through their work, prove dangerous to the suitors, the elite men who dominate the household.

I will begin with the more contained episode, that of the slave woman. She is one of the twelve female slaves who grind all the grain for the feasting, and has been forced to work all night to complete her assigned task. Exhausted and angered from this work, she prays to Zeus for the suitors' demise as follows (Hom. *Od.* 20.112–121):[38]

> "Father Zeus, you who are lord over gods and men, just now you thundered loudly from shining heaven, but there is no cloud in sight. You caused this to appear as a marvel for someone. Now fulfill this prayer even for me, wretched as I am, this prayer that I say now: may this be the final day on which the suitors devour a lovely feast in the halls of Odysseus, the ones who have weakened my knees in heart-grieving toil by grinding the grain. May they now dine for the last time." She said this, and godlike Odysseus rejoiced in the omen and in Zeus' thunder, since he thought that he would take vengeance on the wicked men.

> "Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσεις,
> ἦ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
> οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεῳ τόδε φαίνεις.

37 Effe 2001. For his views on these similes in particular, see Effe 2001, 153–155.

38 The Greek text of the *Odyssey* is from Allen 2002.

κρῆνον νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ δειλῇ ἔπος, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·
μνηστῆρες πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἤματι τῷδε
ἐν μεγάροις Ὀδυσῆος ἑλοίατο δαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν,
οἳ δή μοι καμάτῳ θυμαλγέϊ γούνατ' ἔλυσαν
ἄλφιτα τευχούσῃ· νῦν ὕστατα δειπνήσειαν."
ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, χαῖρεν δὲ κλεηδόνι δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
Ζηνός τε βροντῇ· φάτο γὰρ τίσασθαι ἀλείτας.

Odysseus turns out to be right about this omen, and he will kill the suitors that same day. The poem itself does not present this scene in a particularly troubling light, since the slave is, after all, on the winning side and Odysseus is about to experience his long-awaited homecoming. The practice of divining the future through a randomly overheard utterance, called cledonomancy, is not unprecedented, and in fact occurs elsewhere in the epic.[39] Yet there is something inherently dangerous about the words of a woman and a slave leading to the slaughter of elite men. Furthermore, it is particularly problematic that this anonymous slave can pray to Zeus, a male god, in his role as avenger of those who violate the rules of hospitality.[40] Just before this scene, Penelope has been lamenting her own suffering at the hands of the suitors, but she prays not for bloody vengeance but simply for Artemis to strike her dead and put an end to her grief (20.59–90). This slave, however, prays in a way that would be more appropriate for a man, as demonstrated by the fact that it is a man, a king no less, who enacts her prayer. In a certain light, Odysseus' entire slaughter of the suitors is framed by the wishes of a female slave, who has the power to both interpret and manifest signs from the king of the gods.

The latent danger of this scene is shared by the more famous episode of a woman working at night, that of Penelope weaving and unraveling the shroud of Laertes. This celebrated demonstration of Penelope's cleverness is told not once, not twice, but three times in the *Odyssey*: by Antinous at 2.93–110, by Penelope herself at 19.137–156, and by Amphimedon at 24.129–148. In each of these instances, the speaker repeats eighteen lines, which tell how Penelope announces her task of making a shroud for Laertes only to undo the great web

39 Odysseus likewise rejoices at the κληδών of another's words, this time those of the suitors hoping that Zeus will grant him what he wishes, at *Od.* 18.117. Pausanias describes the practice in relation to oracles at both the sanctuary of Apollo at Smyrna (Paus. 9.11.7) and the sanctuary of Hermes at Pharae (8.22.1–3). For more on the practice of cledonomancy in this scene, see Hirvonen 1969.

40 Hirvonen points out how strange it is for a woman to pray to Zeus rather than a goddess, although Russo defends the addressee as appropriate given that she is praying for vengeance (Russo 1988, 115).

by torchlight during the night until, eventually, she is betrayed by a slave and forced to finish the cloth. While the text is the same in each case, Lowenstam (2000) has shown how each telling of this story fits into its narrative context in a different way. In the third and final recitation, the speaker is the deceased Amphimedon in the underworld. Lamenting his fate, he explicitly links the moment when Penelope finishes the shroud to the moment of Odysseus' arrival on Ithaca, and even goes so far as to claim that Penelope set up the deadly bow contest at the behest of her husband (24.167–168). While Amphimedon's assertion of Penelope's knowledge may be wrong, it is important that he views her shroud as the link between her actions and those of Odysseus.[41] In fact, Lowenstam has suggested that in this final version the shroud that Penelope weaves ultimately becomes the shroud of the suitors, at least symbolically, since they, and not Laertes, die upon its completion.[42] As shown by the reaction of Agamemnon's shade, the poem treats Penelope's action as grounds for κλέος (24.192–198), but, from the suitors' perspective, she has turned women's work into a deadly craft by performing it at night.[43]

As much as their nocturnal setting and indirect causation of the suitors' deaths unite the activities of Penelope and the grain grinder, their actions also highlight the vast difference in status between the two women. The slave is performing a utilitarian task that involves hard manual labor and minimal skill and is near the bottom of even the slaves' hierarchy.[44] Penelope, in contrast, performs the most refined of female tasks, one practiced even by goddesses.[45] She is producing a garment with no purpose other than conveying social status, a fact which Penelope herself highlights when justifying the shroud to the suitors, claiming that she is weaving it to avoid reproach from other Greek women (2.101–103). Even further, Penelope's nighttime task involves not making this

41 For a discussion of how Amphimedon's claim is reasonable but incorrect, see Goldhill 1988, 6–7. For a wider-ranging discussion of Penelope's knowledge, or rather lack thereof, about Odysseus' identity, see Murnaghan 1986.

42 Lowenstam 2000, 342–344.

43 For the grounds of Penelope's κλέος and limits on her agency as a woman, see Foley 1995. There is an interesting contrast here with Helen, who famously weaves about the war as the grounds for her κλέος at *Iliad* 3.125–128 (Pantelia 1993, 495).

44 I infer her social standing from the fact that grinding grain would be hard physical work and so one of the least desirable occupations for a female slave. It is also telling that the narrator does not name her, as he does several other slaves. For more on the hierarchy of slaves in the *Odyssey*, see Ramming 1973.

45 Both Circe and Calypso weave in the *Odyssey* (5.61–62; 10.220–223). Both goddesses in fact weave while singing, and this concurrence, along with the several uses of ὑφαίνω to mean thought, depicts weaving as a creative and intellectual activity suitable for women (Pantelia 1993, 498 and Snyder 1981, 194).

elite object but *un*-making it, thereby signifying how unnecessary her work is in the first place.

The combination of Penelope and the anonymous slave deepens the parallels in *Idyll* 2 and the *Argonautica*'s similes about Medea. In both cases, the poet juxtaposes two women of vastly different social status who share in insomnia and (at least implied) grief, just as the slave and Penelope do. This Odyssean slave is the only lower-class woman who gives voice to her own suffering, and it is appealing to map the threatening aggression of her words onto the silent working women in Apollonius and Theocritus, who likewise endure night-long toil. In addition, Penelope and the slave are surprisingly apt models for a witch, despite not being treated as such in the Homeric narrative. Penelope manipulates time through her unraveling, drawing out the time of weaving one shroud to more than three years. This act of un-weaving is almost an act of sympathetic magic, drawing Odysseus closer to home by an action which demonstrates how faithful Penelope remains.[46] Ultimately, this manipulation of time leads to the suitors' deaths, as Amphinomus confirms in his final retelling of the event. Similarly, the nameless slave essentially utters a curse upon the suitors, and her words are fulfilled that very day. Both of these results could offer appealing instances of 'magical' effects to later poets like Apollonius and Theocritus when crafting their own witches, as well as offering fruitful models of women using their nighttime activities to create narratives about themselves. In a world in which even slaves are mainly from elite backgrounds, the grain grinder is the least privileged character who has the chance to speak for herself, and she presents her nighttime work as the reason why her words should be effective.[47] Penelope talks about her nocturnal efforts as well, and uses them to justify and enhance her reputation.

A final point of overlap between the later poems and the *Odyssey* is the link between love and grief. In the *Argonautica*, each simile occurs at a pivotal junc-

46 Lowenstam 2000, 339.

47 Of the six slaves that speak on Ithaca, half have a high social standing. Eumaeus was a young prince before being sold into slavery (*Od.* 15.403–484), while Eurycleia was bought at the high price of twenty oxen and honored like a wife (1.431–432). Similarly, Melantho was raised as if she were Penelope's own daughter (18.321–323). In addition to these and the nameless grain grinder, only the oxherd Philoetius and the goatherd Melanthius speak. See Thalmann 1998 for a discussion of how social status interacts with gender in the poem. One wonders to what extent this slave woman's complaints against the suitors represent a common attitude among the female slaves burdened with extra work by those careless men. She is in some ways a pendant to the 'bad' slaves like Melantho, since there are twelve women grinding grain with one speaking representative just as there are twelve maids whom Telemachus murders. For more on the maids, see Fulkerson 2002.

ture in Medea's romance with Jason. In the first simile, she falls in love with him instantly, while the second simile describes the eve of their marriage. The desire for an absent lover drives Simaetha's entire narrative, and she expresses her heartache at length to Selene. This link between grief and love lies at the heart of the *Odyssey*, in which Penelope's marriage brings her so much grief, as does her continuing erotic appeal to the suitors. While the slave woman herself is not presented in a sexual light, it is the suitors' desire for marriage that has caused her grief through excessive work. In addition, the phrase she uses to describe the physical suffering the suitors have caused her is elsewhere used to describe someone who has been weakened by love. At 20.118, she says the suitors γούνατ' ἔλυσαν, 'have weakened her knees,' which is the same effect that Penelope had on the suitors two books earlier (18.212). Even this slave cannot escape the link between grief and frustrated eroticism that is foundational to the poem. Penelope and the slave girl thus present a combination of nighttime activity, grief, and love that coalesces in the similes describing Medea at two crucial moments in her romantic narrative and Simaetha's soliloquy about her love affair.

5 Conclusion

Whether a slave, royalty, or in between, all of these women experience grief at night.[48] Penelope's nights are full of wakefulness and crying, while the grain grinder curses the suitors for the unending work they have caused her. The comparison between Medea and the working women in the *Argonautica* rests on the idea that night brings relentless grief to women in various situations. Likewise, Simaetha is grieving for her lost love, while sending her slave out on thankless errands in the middle of the night.

Yet the grief of these characters likewise lends them a danger and, pushed to the depths of suffering, they can use the comparative freedom of the night to assert agency and cause harm to the men who are oppressing them. Both Penelope's trick with the shroud and the slave woman's curse help to bring about the suitors' destruction. The similes used to describe Medea at key moments in her relationship with Jason foreshadow the suffering that she will eventually cause

48 It is noteworthy that a major nocturnal fear, that of rape, does not cause the suffering of any of these women. For an instance in Aeschylus of rape as a fear associated with the night, see Reinhardt in this volume, who discusses a female chorus lamenting the 'nighttime consummation' they will experience if their city should fall (158–159).

him by murdering both his bride-to-be and their own children. Simaetha, by the end of her monologue, seems resolved on poisoning her faithless lover, and one imagines that Thestylis will be her helper, willing or not.

In the dark of the night, many unusual and dangerous activities become possible, especially for troubled women. The threat posed by these women occurs at key moments in the *Odyssey*, and, when reading Homer closely, the Hellenistic poets picked up on this latent threat and constructed their own witches as reworkings of these Odyssean models.[49] Part of the power of these female characters lies in their actions, but another part lies in their words. While acting at night, they construct their own identities, gaining both the opportunity and subject matter to become storytellers. In the hands of these male poets, this exploration of identity and power becomes frightening, since ultimately it is women in general, not witches in particular, who are the dangers looming in the shadows.

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49 This paper focuses on the poetic influences on the construction of these threatening women, but the issue of female agency may have had particular appeal to Hellenistic poets because of their historical realities. During this period, the status of women appears to have been changing, as within the Ptolemaic Empire queens such as Arsinoë II and Berenice became important cultural and political figures. For recent biographies of each, see Carney 2013 and Clayman 2014. Early scholarship often took these exceptional figures as indicators of broader social freedom for women, resulting in optimistic views about the degree of change. Seltman went so far as to dub women at this time "New Women" with increased power and autonomy (Seltman 1956, 138–158). Some scholars, such as Vatin 1970, were more cautious, and Van Bremen 1996 pointed out ways in which scholars have overestimated some indications of women's increased power. Stavrianopoulou 2006 and Günther and Köcke 2014 both present careful studies of the positions of elite women in other regions of the Hellenistic world, finding evidence for moderate change in status among elite women. For Egypt in particular, Pomeroy 1984 offers a good overview of the material, with an optimistic reading of women's status. As regards Theocritus specifically, Griffiths 1981 and Burton have explored how the mimes reflect the relatively greater freedom that women possessed in Alexandria (Burton 1995, 42–93).

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CHAPTER 10

Nox rei publicae? Catiline's and Cicero's Nocturnal Activities in the *Catilinarians*

Christoph Pieper

1 Introduction[1]

Nightly activities undertaken by Catiline are notoriously present in Cicero's first *Catilinarian* speech. Already in the powerful *exordium* he makes it clear that all senators know how Catiline spends his nights: 'What you did last night, what on the night before that, …—who of us, do you think, does not know about it?' (*quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, … quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?*, Cic. *Catil.* 1.1). Then, in the *narratio*, he describes the details of the secret meeting in the house of Marcus Laeca at nighttime (*Catil.* 1.8):

> Reconsider with me, if you will, that night before last night; … I declare that you came, the night before last, to the street of the scythe-makers, into the house of Marcus Laeca—I will speak openly with you!—and that many companions in the same insane crime gathered there.
>
> *recognosce mecum tandem noctem illam superiorem; … dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure—in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios.*

It is obvious what kind of association Cicero wants to convey with this focus on the night as the setting of Catiline's conspiracy: it is a time which is dangerous and strange, and nightly meetings are aimed at secret plans, which are not meant to be brought into clear daylight. In an inspiring article, Thomas Habinek convincingly argued that the passages help Cicero to frame Catiline as a bandit, someone who can and should be excluded "from the place of reasoned

1 The ancient texts are quoted according to the following editions: Caes. *Civ.* Damon 2015; Cic. *Brut.* Malcovati 1965, *Catil.* Dyck 2008, *Flac.* Fruechtel 1933, *Har.* Maslowski 1981, *Agr.* Manuwald 2018, *Man.* Reis 1933, *Phil.* 1 Ramsey 2003, *S. Rosc.* Dyck 2010, *Sul.* Berry 1996, *Tog. Cand.* Crawford 1994; Quint. *Inst.* Winterbottom 1970; Sal. *Cat.* Reynolds 1991; Victorinus, *De definitionibus* Stangl 1888. All translations are my own.

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debate," someone whose major dwelling was considered to be outside of the city and whose actions were undertaken at nighttime.[2] The association seems to fit rather nicely with what we can surmise about Cicero's rhetorical strategy in the *Catilinarians*: Cicero leaves no space for nuances, but sketches Catiline as supremely evil and egoistic, whereas he himself is the ultimate patriot and unselfish savior of the state. Habinek's article, however, is not interested in re-stressing this dichotomy, but rather suggests that the boundaries between Catiline's and Cicero's images are not based on the actual character of their deeds, but on how they are framed by Cicero's evaluative rhetoric. At the end of his article, based on a comparison of Cicero and Romulus in the third *Catilinarian*, Habinek suggests that we can see in Cicero and Catiline a similar twin-pair like Romulus and Remus—the one being the hero, the other the villain—and the final triumph of Cicero being "a victory over the bloody legacy of Rome."[3]

This chapter will argue along similar lines while focusing on the metaphorical and associative use of night in the *Catilinarians*.[4] That images of light and darkness are dear to Cicero in his political rhetoric, has been demonstrated by Kathryn Welch; her findings can be summarized with the following quotation: "… the city of Rome holds the *lux*, the source of light, which illuminates in a better way than any others the deeds of those who have rightly won praise."[5] Welch shows that Cicero associates light metaphors especially with the institutions of the functioning state and with the charismatic politicians guaranteeing this functioning. As an example of the first, she refers to Cicero's speech before the people from the very first days of his consulship: in the second speech against the agrarian law proposed by the tribune of the people, Rullus, he enumerates the advantages of living in the city (abstract concepts such as liberty and dignity, as well as such concrete things as the forum and the *ludi* on holidays), summarizing them with the term *lux rei publicae* (*Agr.* 2.71).[6] This light is contrasted with the darkness in which Rullus operates, but also with the recent past of Sulla's dictatorship, the *tenebrae rei publicae*, during which Rullus' father-in-law is said to have enriched himself shamelessly.[7] An example of the light

2 Habinek 1998, 71.

3 Habinek 1998, 87.

4 See Atkins and Joosse in this volume for the complex metaphorical meaning of 'night' in Hesiod and Plato respectively.

5 Welch 2005, 315 (with reference to *Fam.* 2.12.2).

6 Cf. Welch 2005, 317–318. Manuwald 2018, 343 ad loc. thinks that it stands for Rome itself ("the outstanding position of Rome within the Roman republic"), but I think it might similarly well refer to the mentioned infrastructure and institutions of the city.

7 *Agr.* 2.69: 'He has a father-in-law, an outstanding man, who in this darkness of the state occupied as much land as he wished' (*habet socerum, virum optimum, qui tantum agri in illis*

metaphor being used with reference to people can be found in his first speech about Rullus' law, delivered in front of the senate on the first day of his consulship: there Cicero refers to his own consular voice and public renown as a beam of light that brings relief to the troubled state (*populo Romano … vox et auctoritas consulis repente in tantis tenebris illuxerit*, *Agr.* 1.24). Even if, as Welch has argued, Cicero is applying the light metaphor not to himself, but to his public office, the passage might have reminded the senators of the praise of Pompey Cicero had uttered few years before in his *De imperio Cn. Pompei* (*Pro lege Manilia*). In this encomiastic speech, Pompey was regularly hailed as light, for example at *Man.* 33: 'the incredible and divine virtue of one single man could in such a short period of time bring such a light to the state' (*tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit*).[8]

2 The Metaphor *nox rei publicae*

If the light metaphor applied to the state is thus deeply rooted in Cicero's works, the idea of describing political instability with a metaphorical 'night of the republic' does not seem far-fetched—especially in an author such as Cicero, whose abundant use of metaphors more generally has been thoroughly shown already.[9] But surprisingly the formulation *nox rei publicae* (or similar genitives referring to the state) does not seem to be a common metaphor in the Latin literature of antiquity. This is confirmed both by a search in the *Library of Latin Texts* and by the late antique rhetorician and philosopher Marius Victorinus. In his short treatise *De definitionibus* he proposes fifteen categories of definitions, of which the seventh is the *definitio κατὰ μεταφοράν, id est per*

rei publicae tenebris occupavit quantum concupivit); this passage is not discussed in Welch. Manuwald 2018, 338 ad loc. refers to Cic. *S. Rosc.* 91 (quoted below) and *Red. Sen.* 5 for similar metaphorical use of *tenebrae* as "applied to political circumstances"; cf. also Fantham 1972, 125 and 134 (on *tenebrae* used metaphorically of Cicero's adversaries in the *Pro Sestio*).

8 In my assessment of *Agr.* 1.24, I partly differ from Welch 2005, 317 and 323–325, who thinks that Cicero employed the metaphor with reference to his own person only in the years after his consulship. See her p. 320 on the *Pro lege Manilia* in general; for the quoted sentence from this speech, cf. Gildenhard and Hodgson 2014, 144 ad loc.: the phrase *lumen afferre* is very rare in Cicero.

9 Cf. Fantham 1972, 115–136 for an analysis of the speeches stemming from the years 57 and 56 BCE.

translationem.[10] He warns that excessively artificial metaphorical definitions should be avoided, and among the examples he adduces, there is a passage from Cicero's speech *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* (Marius Victorinus, *De definitionibus* 22, 15–23, 2 Stangl):[11]

> In this category, one has to guard against the metaphor being either far-fetched or ugly.[12] Far-fetched would be the following sentence: "the agitation of the state is a chaos of the laws." Cicero tempered this in his speech for Sextus Roscius when he said "as if there was … an eternal night." Even if he says *quasi* as if it were a comparison, we still can regard this as a *definition*, defanged by a particle of comparison.
>
> *in quo genere tamen illud cavendum est ne aut longe sit petita translatio aut turpis. longe petita ut 'turba rei publicae chaos est legum,' quod Tullius pro Sexto Roscio temperavit qui 'quasi … sempiterna nox esset' inquit: in quo etiam si sit 'quasi,' ut per similitudinem sit, tamen definitio accipi potest temperamentum accipiens ex particula similitudinis.*

Victorinus alludes to Cicero's *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* 91, a speech in which Cicero defends Sextus Roscius against the accusation of having murdered his father. In the context of paragraph 91, he has just embarked on the counterattack against two relatives of Sextus, the Titi Roscii, who have used the Sullan proscriptions to plot together with Sulla's freedman Chrysogonus in order to enrich themselves. But, as Cicero explains, they were not the only ones to profit from the chaotic situation and of a Sulla who was not in full control of the situation (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 91; annotations mine):

> While he who was in charge of the state [i.e., Sulla] was occupied with other things, there were others who healed their wounds [i.e., who profited from the proscriptions]; who, as if eternal night had fallen upon the state, ran around in the darkness and confused everything.

10 For an overview of the treatise and its sources, see Pronay 1997, 15–41.

11 Thomas Riesenweber is working on a new edition of the text that will replace Stangl's nineteenth-century edition; see Riesenweber (forthcoming).

12 For Roman criticism of daring metaphors, cf. Riesenweber 2007, 18–19, and see, e.g., Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.17 ('harsh, because taken from a simile that is too far-fetched,' *durae, id est a longinqua similitudine ductae*); Cicero himself in *de Orat.* 3.162–167 warns against misuse of the *similitudo* (if it is too harsh, he suggests, like Victorinus, to soften it by adding a relativizing particle or sentence, cf. 3.165).

> *dum is in aliis rebus erat occupatus qui summam rerum administrabat, erant interea qui suis vulneribus mederentur; qui, tamquam si offusa rei publicae sempiterna nox esset, ita ruebant in tenebris omniaque miscebant.*

Victorinus' reference does not do justice to Cicero's sentence structure—in Cicero, *rei publicae* is indirect object with *offusa*, whereas in the abbreviated quotation in Victorinus it looks like a genitive within a nominal phrase—and thus makes the expression harsher than in Cicero's original. Even so, Cicero obviously had a metaphor like *nox rei publicae* in mind.[13] But the *iunctura* itself was still daring to Victorinus' ears, and indeed there are not more than two passages in Classical Latin literature where the phrase *nox rei publicae* (with *rei publicae* as a genitive) is used,[14] and both are by Cicero. One stems from his speech *De haruspicum responso* 11 in the year 56: 'In this thunderstorm and night of the republic, my enemy, although he had dipped his pen in the dirty audacity of Sextus Cloelius and had written down all kinds of [alleged] crimes [of mine], did not even touch with one letter on the sanctity of my house' (*quam* [*sc. meam domum*] *primum inimicus ipse* ***in illa tempestate ac nocte rei publicae,*** *cum cetera scelera stilo illo impuro Sex. Cloeli ore tincto conscripsisset, ne una quidem attigit littera religionis*). The second is from the end of the *Brutus* (for which see the conclusion below). It is interesting that Victorinus does not quote these two more obvious examples. Perhaps he chose the formulation in the early speech because it allowed him to exculpate Cicero as much as he could (Cicero himself had famously criticized his speech as full of juvenile exuberance, *Orat.* 107) and to drive home his argument best, namely that the formulation is too daring. (The addition of the relativizing particle *quasi/tamquam si* helps him here.) The three passages stem from very different political contexts: the Sullan regime of 80 BCE; Cicero's fight against Clodius after his return from exile; and the time of Caesar's dictatorship.[15] They show that even if the *iunctura* is rare and perhaps too daring in the ears of many ancient readers, the metaphor itself must have been present in Cicero's mind throughout his life.

In the following I will argue that in the case of the *Catilinarians*, the metaphor is not only present, but even functions as one of the unifying metaphors

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13 On metaphors as referring to both verbal and contextual *ornatus*, see the excellent introduction in Riesenweber 2007 (with a sound summary of ancient and modern theories). On p. 25, he quotes Weinrich 1967, 5: "Wort und Kontext machen zusammen die Metapher."

14 I have not been able to find another instance in Cicero of the combination *nox* + [genitive of any noun] in a metaphorical sense that could serve as a parallel.

15 Additionally, in *Flac.* 102 Cicero solemnly invokes the danger of an eternal night for the city of Rome which was conjured by Catiline; soon afterwards (103), he contrasts this night to the next day which brought salvation to the city. On these passages see below.

that help Cicero to construct coherence in his four speeches against Catiline.[16] According to Thomas Riesenweber, ancient theories of the metaphor saw it mainly as *ornatus*, but not as a means to change the meaning of the passage in question.[17] Elaine Fantham, on the other hand, has argued that it was only in the *De oratore* that Cicero would put into practice two more structural ways of using metaphors: “the thematic” and “the architectonic use” (the latter one being defined as, among others, “to link a speech with the preceding speech which it answers”).[18] My argument will be that Cicero’s use of the night as metaphor in the *Catilinarians* is so persistent as to be seen as one of the structuring metaphors of the corpus and that it adds an additional layer of meaning to the speeches, as well.[19] But unlike the *pestis* imagery, it will turn out to be not as clearly allotted to Catiline and his friends alone, but to show some ambiguities.

3 Catiline at Night

The historicity of the events which encouraged Cicero to pronounce his first speech against Catiline is not at stake in this chapter. But it is still worth stressing that even in passages that have been taken at face value by all historians since Sallust and up to our days, Cicero is not speaking (or writing)[20] as an objective chronicler, but as an orator who uses the narrative of the events for his own rhetorical aims. A good example of this is the passage I quoted at the beginning of the article. For it is very probable that the nocturnal meeting at Laeca’s house indeed took place, but similarly important is that Cicero makes use of an intertextual link in order to transform the description of a singular event into something that becomes typical behavior for Catiline. The

16 Another one, the metaphor of illness and pestilence, has been analyzed in depth by Walters 2011, 64–77.

17 Riesenweber 2007, 17 (“sie verändert die tiefere Bedeutung einer Stelle nicht”).

18 Fantham 1972, 139–140.

19 See for a similar qualification of Fantham’s argument Cape 1991, 179, and Walters 2011, 66, n. 23.

20 The question of how strongly the *Catilinarians* which we have, and which go back to Cicero’s re-circulation of the consular speeches in 60 BCE, differ from the version he delivered in 63, has been the object of fierce debates. Cf. Dyck 2008, 11 for a concise overview of the major arguments *pro/contra* heavy changes. I agree with Stroh 1975, 54: even if the agreement of oral and written speech might be partly fictitious, a rhetorical interpretation cannot but take this fiction as reality (“dann haben wir—so paradox es klingen mag—diese Fiktion als Wirklichkeit zu nehmen”).

passage is very reminiscent of a fragment of Cicero's speech *In toga candida*, delivered 'as a candidate' in 64 BCE, 'just a few days before the consular elections' (*ante dies comitiorum paucos*, Asc. *Tog.* 82C). Fragments of the speech have been preserved for us in Asconius Pedianus' first-century CE commentary. The fact that Asconius could comment on the speech more than 100 years after its delivery proves that it must have been circulating in written form, and this means that it must have been published by Cicero himself, most probably (as was usual for him) not too long after the delivery, i.e., early during his consulate, which in turn makes it at least very probable that it could have been remembered by the audience of the first *Catilinarian*. In the "mostly invective" speech,[21] Cicero obviously referred to a secret meeting of his rivals Antonius and Catiline. The first transmitted fragment of the speech is very similar to the quotation from the first *Catilinarian* (Cic. *Tog. Cand.* fr. 1 Crawford = Asc. *Tog.* 83C):

> I declare, conscript fathers, that the night before last Catiline and Antony together with their followers gathered in the house of a certain nobleman who is very well known in this whole affair of bribery.
>
> ***dico,** patres conscripti, **superiore nocte*** **cuiusdam hominis nobilis** *et valde in hoc largitionis quaestu* **noti et cogniti** ***domum*** *Catilinam et Antonium* **cum sequestribus suis** ***convenisse.***

For easier comparison, here is again the text of the *Catilinarian speech* (*Catil.* 1.8):

> *recognosce mecum tandem **noctem illam superiorem; … dico** te* **priore nocte** *venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure*[22]**—in M. Laecae *domum; convenisse*** *eodem* **complures** *eiusdem amentiae scelerisque* **socios.**

The verbal allusions are obvious, as is the general impression that emerges: Catiline's way of making politics is via clandestine meetings at night, during

21 This characterization comes from Crawford 1994, 159; her introduction to the context of the speech 159–175 is very useful in general.

22 An anonymous referee hinted at the possibility that Cicero might use this term playfully within this passage: whereas Catiline's nightly activities (namely his plan to murder Cicero) should not be known to non-insiders, Cicero's counter-action is open and visible to all.

which he plots against the constitution of Rome.[23] The night is part of a consciously constructed setting of the Ciceronian narrative within the *Catilinarian* speeches: the darkness and creepiness of night is introduced as the opposite of bright daylight, which in its turn represents political stability and order.[24] As Wilfried Nippel has shown, nightly gatherings are a constitutive element of conspiracy narratives and are furthermore associated with political instability raised by pro-plebeian politicians.[25] On an intertextual level, the motif connects Catiline with his 'role models' Spurius Maelius or Manlius Capitolinus.

Therefore it cannot be surprising that in Cicero's narratives of the Catilinarian conspiracy, the element of night appears continuously and consistently. To give just a small selection: In *Catil.* 1.8, Catiline's *nocturnus impetus* in Praeneste is mentioned. In *Catil.* 1.9 Cicero not only re-affirms the meeting at Laeca's house with Catiline's detailed plans including a redistribution of Italian land and the burning of Rome, but also announces the attempted murder of himself by a companion of Catiline. Furthermore, this deed was planned to be executed 'in that very same night, shortly before dawn' (*illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem*, 1.9). In a similar vein we find passages in which Cicero declares that Catiline's clandestine nightly actions are no longer a secret, but that the new day has made them visible. In other words, the night as time of danger and horror is contrasted with the day as symbol of the future safety and stability of the state once Catiline's conspiracy is eradicated. For example, in *Catil.* 1.6 Cicero urges Catiline to give up his plans, given the fact that 'neither can *the night* with its

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23 Cf. Lewis 2006, 291–292: "The language is well chosen to convey an atmosphere of secret intrigue and electoral malpractice, carefully declining to name the master mind." Cf. Dyck 2008, 81 ad Cic. *Catil.* 1.8: on "night as Catiline's favored time of action."

24 Cf. Welch 2005 (see above). Cf. also *Sul.* 52, a passage from a speech delivered in 62, in which Cicero refers to the night at Laeca's house, as well, and stresses the importance of the nocturnal setting by a triple repetition of the word *nox*: 'what did he say about that famous *night*, when, summoned by Catiline, he joined the meeting of that *night* (the one following the 6th of November during my consulship) in the house of Laeca in the scythemakers' street? This *night* was the most dangerous and the most troublesome of all moments of the conspiracy.' (*quid tandem de illa* ***nocte*** *dicit, cum inter falcarios ad M. Laecam* ***nocte*** *ea, quae consecuta est posterum diem nonarum Novembrium me consule Catilinae denuntiatione convenit? quae* ***nox*** *omnium temporum coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima.*)

25 Nippel 1984, 24. He concludes that *coetus nocturni* were "considered as the nucleus of the independent organization of the plebs in the Early Republic." See also Ker 2004, 219. Also, Marc Antony in the *Philippics* is represented as a master of crime (*princeps latronum*) who seeks shelter in the night (*nocte tectus*, *Phil.* 14.27), who is his ally (*nocte socia*, *Phil.* 2.45).

darkness obscure your heinous attempts, nor can a private house with its walls restrain the voices of the conspiracy, if everything is *illuminated* and breaks out' (*neque* ***nox*** *tenebris obscurare coeptus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis potest, si* ***illustrantur,*** *si erumpunt omnia*). In the second speech, the same idea returns: '[Catiline's allies] perceive that all their plans of the other *night* have been reported to me; I uncovered them in the senate yester*day*' (*omnia superioris* ***noctis*** *consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno* ***die,*** *Catil.* 2.6). The quotations seem to confirm what Welch (above) programmatically put as the first sentence of her article: "Roman politics had to happen in the daylight."[26]

A slightly different context, which however merits mention here, is to be found in the long fragment of Cicero's poem *De consulatu suo* transmitted in the first book of *De divinatione*. Here, the night is mentioned as a moment when divine signs of divination are visible for men, and as such, night is a more productive concept here. The fragment is very close to the third *Catilinarian* speech in general, where partly the same *omina* are mentioned as signs of Catiline's planned deeds of horror and as symbols of the divine aid against those plans.[27] The poem stresses even more than the speech that the nightly aspect of the visions increases the foreshadowing of wars and uproar: 'And already various dreadful apparitions at the time of the night foreboded war and civil commotion' (*iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae / terribiles formae bellum motusque monebant*, Cic. *Div.* 1.18.26–27 = *Carm.* fr. 6 Büchner-Blänsdorf = 10 Courtney = 11 Morel). It is noteworthy that the words *nocturno tempore* and *bellum motusque* occupy the same metrical *sedes*, thus strengthening the connection between the signs at night and the symbolic value of the night as such, which we have met so often in the *Catilinarians*.

26 Welch 2005, 313.

27 This latter aspect is highlighted from the very beginning of the passage; see *Catil.* 3.18: [*di*] *ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt ut eos paene oculis videre possemus* ('in this time [the gods] have brought us assistance and help in such a way that we could almost see them with our eyes'). Dyck 2008, 192 comments (my emphasis): "These sections lay greater emphasis on the rôle of the gods in the *protection* of the *res publica* than is found elsewhere in Ciceronian oratory." See also Kurczyk 2006, 93–100 for a comparison of the two passages.

4 The Imagery Shifts

So far, we have seen the obvious metaphorical function of the night:[28] the night is associated with Catiline's crimes, the day with Cicero's heroic defense of Rome. The imagery indeed seems omnipresent, once one looks for it. For example, when Cicero in the second *Catilinarian* declares that Catiline's allies should leave the city immediately, he suggests they could still reach their fleeing master *ad vesperam*, i.e., just before sunset (*si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur, Catil.* 2.6)—and thus just in time for another nocturnal malicious reunion.

This, however, is only one part of the story. During (real and metaphorical) nights not only the enemies of the state wake in order to harm it; also its defenders (among whom Cicero is the foremost example) are awake.[29] Does that mean that the clear-cut black-and-white scheme which one often finds in the *Catilinarians* (Catiline = supremely bad; Cicero = supremely heroic) is at least partly blurred? Thomas Habinek thinks that it is indeed. In his chapter on the speeches, in which he wants to show that being a bandit and being a politician are not ontologically different, but a matter of framing, he argues for the close parallels between Cicero's and Catiline's actions and comes to the following conclusion: "Bandits meet at night: so does the senate … Bandits have an energetic leader, one who works day and night to advance the interests of the group and receives the highest honor and greatest loyalty as a result: so does the senate, in the person of its consul Cicero."[30] This rather absolute claim might be questionable (e.g., it seems hard to find evidence for Habinek's assertion that the senate's meeting during which the first *Catilinarian* was delivered took place at night). But nonetheless, it seems worthwhile pursuing the possibility of permeable boundaries between Cicero and Catiline.

In the first *Catilinarian*, Cicero, when he invites Catiline to reconsider the prior night at Laeca's house, explicitly says that he uses the night more effectively to save the state than Catiline does to destroy it (*Catil.* 1.8):

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28 See Damon in this volume for the night adding darker shadows to the shining image of Rome's second king, Numa.

29 This ambivalence might be connected to ideas of the night as a time when otherwise accepted categories and ascriptions collapse; see Marie-Charlotte von Lehsten in this volume (177) with reference to E. *Rh.* 69: 'in the darkness a runaway is very mighty' (ἐν ὄρφνῃ δραπέτης μέγα σθένει).

30 Habinek 1998, 82.

> Reconsider with me, if you will, that night before last night, and you will easily understand that I am awake and keep watch (*vigilare*) more energetically for the sake of the state, than you are doing for its doom.
>
> *recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem; iam intelleges multo me* ***vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae****.*

Two alternatives for what the night can symbolize are offered: either *salus* or *pernicies*.[31] The most detailed reference to this very opposition does not stem from the *Catilinarians*, but from a passage in the *Pro Flacco* that refers back to the Catilinarian conspiracy. Towards the end of the speech in defense of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the *praetor urbanus* of 63, who is accused of extortion, Cicero makes use of the recent past in order to show Flaccus' ethical excellence. As Cicero's ally he had fought bravely against Catiline. The famous Allobroges-affair of the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December, during which Cicero intercepted the letters of the conspirators, is recalled as proof of that. First, the night is introduced with its well-known symbolism of eternal darkness (Cic. *Flac.* 102):

> O famous night, you that almost brought eternal darkness to this city, when the Gauls were called to war, Catiline to this city, and his allies to sword and fire; when I, crying, called heaven and night to witness and beseeched you, Flaccus, who were crying as well; when I entrusted the well-being of the city and the citizens to your excellent and well proved faithfulness.
>
> *o* ***nox illa quae paene aeternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti****, cum Galli ad bellum, Catilina ad urbem, coniurati ad ferrum et flammam vocabantur, cum ego te Flacce* ***caelum noctemque contestans*** *flens flentem obtestabar, cum tuae fidei optimae et spectatissimae salutem urbis et civium commendabam!*

Luigi Bessone connects the passage with a moment in the *Pro Sulla* (delivered three years earlier), in which Cicero had used a similarly 'melodramatic' tone with reference to the night in Laeca's house;[32] obviously, Cicero in retrospect

31 See Ker 2004 on the ambiguous conceptualization of the night in Imperial culture.

32 Cf. Bessone 2006, 75, with reference to *Sul.* 52 (*nox omnium temporum coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima*), see above n. 24 for the full quotation.

was keen on stressing that both pairs of *Catilinarians*, those from early November and those from early December, were reactions to moments of extreme political crisis.[33] But then the tone changes, and Cicero reminds the jury of the glorious actions Flaccus undertook for the sake of the city. This memory also brings him to re-conceptualize the night, which is no longer seen as eternal, but as alternating with a following day (Cic. *Flac.* 103):[34]

> O fifth day of December in the year of my consulship! This day I can call the actual birthday of this city, or at least its salutary day. O famous night that was followed by that day; a fortunate night for the city, but—unhappy me!—destructive for me, I fear!
>
> *o Nonae illae Decembres quae me consule fuistis! quem ego diem vere natalem huius urbis aut certe salutarem appellare possum.* ***o nox illa*** *quam iste est dies consecutus* ***fausta huic urbi****, miserum me, metuo ne funesta nobis!*

This is no longer the night-day dichotomy we saw above. Instead, while Cicero celebrates the day on which he disclosed the conspiracy as a new, foundational moment for the city, he also labels the previous night *fausta* for the city. Thus, within just one paragraph, he has attributed to the same night two very diverse characteristics: it menaces with eternal darkness and at the same turns out to be most beneficial. The difference between the two lies in the attitude of Flaccus and his friends (among whom Cicero of course is the most important). They have changed the symbolism of the night with their nocturnal actions. Of course, the passage is Cicero's reinterpretation almost four years after the conspiracy. But even if such an explicit passage cannot be found in the *Catilinarians*, the metaphorical shift is observable already there, as well.

5 *Vigiliae*

Above, we have seen that Cicero claims not only that Catiline is active at night, but also that Cicero is awake and takes precautions. One of the terms he uses for this is the verb *vigilare* and the related noun *vigiliae*. This noun alone occurs

33 On the *Pro Flacco* passage within Cicero's strategy to predefine his own *memoria* in the years following his consulship see Pieper 2014, 44–45.

34 Cf. Ker 2004, 219 for two alternative concepts of the night: 1. "enhancement and extension of the day" (and thus connoted positively), 2. "inversion of day" (and thus negatively framed).

46 times in the works of Cicero, and from the very beginning it can carry both positive and negative connotations. In the *Verrines*, Cicero's *vigiliae* refer to the tireless efforts Cicero undertook to collect as much evidence in Sicily as possible (*Ver.* 1.6), and the concept returns in the *peroratio* of the last speech of the *actio secunda* (*Ver.* 2.5.188). At the same time, Verres also is active at night. His *vigiliae*, however, are concerned with binges (2.1.33) and sexual depravation (2.4.144).[35] Thus, *vigiliae*, in principle a *vox media*, can be turned into one of the many words in a linguistic competition in which the stake is to define the public discourse at the costs of one's opponents, a "word of war," as William Batstone has labeled them.[36]

In the *Catilinarians*, too, as we saw, both Cicero and his enemies are awake at night. At the beginning of the third speech, about four weeks after Catiline has left the city, Cicero assures his fellow citizens that he has been awake since then in order to keep things under control (Cic. *Catil.* 3.3):

> Firstly, because Catiline, when he fled from the city some days ago, had left the companions of his crime and the most energetic leaders of this nefarious war in Rome, I was always watchful and made plans, fellow citizens, as to how we could be safe in such a multitude of hidden ambushes.
>
> *principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, huiusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romae reliquisset,* ***semper vigilavi et providi,*** *Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis* ***insidiis*** *salvi esse possemus.*

Note that Cicero especially stresses that his nightly watches are still necessary due to the ambushes of his opponents (their *insidiae*) that also take

35 Similarly, in the affair around his house in the 50s, Cicero attributes *vigiliae* both to himself (the reference is to his *vigiliae consulatus* with the aim of a *res publica restituta*, *Dom.* 144–145) and to Clodius (whose disgraceful *vigiliae* lead to the end of all proper jurisdiction, *Har.* 55). And when Cicero recasts himself in the old role of consular authority in the *Philippics*, he immediately refers to the *vigilia* which seems to be connected to it: 'Because I hoped that once the state would be called back to your [*sc.* the senators'] guidance and authority, I decided that I should stay, so to speak, on a consular and senatorial sentinel at night' (*ego cum sperarem aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria*, *Phil.* 1.1).

36 Cf. Batstone 2010, who mainly analyzes how the word 'war' itself is defined very differently in the first century BCE. In labeling *vigiliae* a *vox media*, I differ from Hellegouarc'h 1963, 250–251, who speaks of *vigilantia* as "le symbole même de l'activité politique."

place at night. As Andrew Dyck has remarked, *insidiae* are typical for Catiline's behaviour.[37] In Roman historiography, nightly ambushes are mostly attributed to the enemies of the narrative. In Caesar's *De bello civili*, for example, there is a moment in book 3 when Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Cornelianus Scipio Nasica, who is fighting on Pompey's side and represented as a truly negative character in Caesar's narrative,[38] sets a nightly ambush. Caesar makes it very clear that Scipio does so only because of cowardice (Caes. *Civ*. 3.37.4–6):

> When Scipio had learned of our soldiers' desire and eagerness to fight, he suspected that tomorrow he would be forced to fight against his will or would remain in his camp, which would bring utmost disgrace to him who had come with the highest expectations; after having rushed forwards inconsiderately, his end was shameful: at night, without even giving the sign for departure, he crossed the river and returned to where he had come from; there, next to the river, on a natural mound, he made camp. Some days later, he laid an ambush of the cavalry at night, at a spot where during the last days our troops were accustomed to come and forage; and when according to daily routine Quintus Varus, Domitius' master of the cavalry, had arrived, the enemy all of a sudden rose from the ambush. But our men bravely sustained their attack; everyone quickly returned to his own formation, and all together they launched a counterattack against the enemy.

> *quorum* [*sc. nostrorum*] *studium alacritatemque pugnandi cum cognovisset Scipio, suspicatus fore ut postero die aut invitus dimicare cogeretur aut magna cum infamia castris se contineret qui magna exspectatione venisset temere progressus turpem habuit exitum. et* ***noctu*** *neque conclamatis quidem vasis flumen transiit atque in eandem partem ex qua venerat rediit ibique prope flumen edito natura loco castra posuit. paucis diebus interpositis* ***noctu insidias*** *equitum conlocavit quo in loco superioribus fere diebus* ***nostri*** *pabulari consuerant, et cum cotidiana consuetudine Q. Varus, praefectus equitum Domiti, venisset, subito illi ex* ***insidiis*** *consurrexerunt. sed* ***nostri*** *fortiter impetum eorum tulerunt, celeriterque ad suos quisque ordines rediit, atque ultro universi in hostes impetum fecerunt.*

37 Cf. Dyck 2008, 120 ad Cic. *Catil.* 1.31.

38 See for a good overview of his "selfishness" and "failure to comprehend the nature and purpose of military command" Batstone and Damon 2006, 109–113.

The passage is a classic ambush scene. In our context, it is important to note that through the repetition of the words *noctu* and *insidiae*, Caesar stresses that an ambush is a nocturnal activity against his own party (*nostri*, also twice). The answer of Caesar's troops in the last sentence is completely contrary to Scipio's previous actions: they fight bravely, according to military order and collectively against the ambush, which in contrast is presented as Scipio's individual and cowardly plan.[39]

The narrative structure of the third *Catilinarian* speech is decisively different. True, the first ambush is set up by Catiline. But immediately after it has been mentioned, there follows the account of the nocturnal events at Pons Mulvius where the pro-Ciceronian praetors Flaccus and Pomptinus detain the ambassadors of the Allobroges and intercept the letters containing the names of the conspirators. This episode is also narrated as an ambush scene: the praetors' action is clandestine (*occulte*, Cic. *Catil.* 3.5)[40] and not meant to be noticed by anyone (*sine cuiusquam suspicione*, 3.5); the attack (*impetus*, 3.6) comes out of the blue. In other words, Cicero is countering the *insidiae* of his opponents not with open military fighting, but with Catiline's own weapons.[41] It is therefore no surprise that Cicero also stresses the nocturnal setting of the little scene: the execution of the plan starts when dusk arrives (*cum advesperasceret*, 3.5) and ends when the morning light reappears (*cum iam dilucesceret*, 3.6);[42] the attack on the Allobroges is staged when the third

39 Another famous example is in Livy's book 22, where Hannibal, the master of *insidiae*, previous to the battle of Cannae, also sets up a nightly ambush, to which the Romans are not able to find an adequate answer; cf. Liv. 22.41.6: 'Therefore he thought that place and time were fitting for an ambush; in the next night he left the camp and left behind all public and private possessions—the soldiers carrying nothing but their weapons' (*itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit*). Cf. Pausch 2019 for a fascinating narratological analysis of the ambush-motif in Livy 22.

40 Dyck 2008, 174 ad loc. connects this passage *en passant* to "the *conspirators*' general preference for nocturnal operations" (my emphasis).

41 Sallust's version of the scene makes this more explicit by using the word 'ambush' explicitly with respect to the scene 'Cicero gave order that [the praetors] catch the escort of the Allobroges on the Mulvian bridge with an ambush' (*imperat ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant*, *Cat.* 45.1). Cf. Pagán 2004, 48 ("counter-conspiracy"). This ambush at night might at least partly explain Cicero's much debated characteristic in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* as a consul possessing *dolus* and *astutiae* (Sal. *Cat.* 26.2). See for different evaluation of the terms Vretska 1976, vol. 2, 360 ad loc. (positive and realistic with regard to Cicero), McGushin 1977, 166 ad loc. (not negative, but also not enthusiastic about Cicero), and Ramsey 2007, 135 ad loc. (normally negative terms "which tend … to undercut the apparent compliment to Cicero").

42 For these two temporal markers as frame of the scene, cf. Dyck 2008, 175 ad loc.

watch of the night is over, i.e., long after midnight: 'in the meantime, when the third watch was completed and when the envoys of the Allobroges with a huge escort and together with Volturcius already started to walk on the Mulvian bridge, they were attacked' (*interim* ***tertia fere vigilia exacta*** *cum iam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus*, 3.6). And the next morning, when all is resolved and Cicero summons the main conspirators to his house, he pesters one of them, Lentulus, by saying that Lentulus normally sleeps at night and only by chance had been awake last night—in order to write letters: 'Very late, however, Lentulus arrived—I think because he had been awake last night against his custom and had written letters' (*tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis* ***praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat***, 3.6). Lentulus' inactivity and naivety (he had obviously not foreseen Cicero's ambush) contrasts strongly with Cicero's own regular *vigiliae*.[43] The subtext is clear: Lentulus is no adequate opponent of Cicero.

But Catiline of course is different. He has enormous talent for waking and acting maliciously at night, as the third *Catilinarian* makes clear.[44] The passage, which Sallust obviously had in mind when writing his famous characterization of Catiline at the beginning of his monograph, is packed with words that make it clear that Catiline is the most talented of all conspirators, the only worthy enemy of the wakeful consul Cicero (*Catil.* 3.16–17):

> He had an apt mental determination for crime; neither tongue nor hands were lacking to it. He already had chosen and instructed certain men to fulfill his plans. But he did not trust that his orders were enough to get what he wanted: there was nothing he would not undergo, for which he would not wake at night and work hard: he could endure thirst, nights without sleep, and hunger.[45] If I had not forced that man—energetic,

43 Cf. Dyck 2008, 176 ad loc.: "Lentulus' usual behavior contrasts with C.'s own alertness."

44 In the *Bellum Catilinae*, the same attribution of *vigiliae* to Catiline and the defenders of the Roman state is to be found, but in a very interesting distinction: in the first half of the text, only Catiline is associated with *vigiliae* on several occasions: after the characterization as *patiens … vigiliae* in 5.3, Sallust mentions Catiline's *vigiliae* in 15.4 as a sign of his restless character and in 27.2 when the conspiracy actually starts, after his loss during the elections; in the second half of the text, then, only the countermeasures of the state are described as *vigiliae*: in 30.6, 32.1, 52.29 (Cato's speech, linked to action and opposed to *supplicia muliebria*), and 54.4.

45 Cf. the similarities in Sallust's list at *Cat.* 5.3–4 (I have highlighted characteristics that Cicero mentions as well here): 'His body could endure hunger, cold and nights without sleep in an unbelievable way. His mind was rash, cunning, inconstant; he pretended this

audacious, well prepared, and astute, always wakeful for the sake of his crimes, so carefully plotting wretched things—if I had not forced him to stop with his ambushes in the city and to go to his camp of freebooters (I shall say what I think, citizens), then I would not have dispelled so easily such a huge burden of evil from your necks.

erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat. iam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos et descriptos habebat. neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat, confectum putabat: nihil erat quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, ***vigilaret****, laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum, tam callidum,* ***tam in scelere vigilantem****, tam in perditis rebus diligentem nisi ex* ***domesticis insidiis*** *in castrense latrocinium compulissem* (*dicam id quod sentio, Quirites*) *non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem.*

The capacity to be wakeful at night obviously is central to this portrayal, as it is repeated twice in the passage. Moreover, it takes up similar passages of the first two *Catilinarians*.[46] The reference to Catiline's ability to endure thirst, hunger, and lack of sleep recalls especially a passage in the second *Catilinarian*, where Cicero however still rebuts the general appraisal with a counterattack on his uncontrolled lusts (*Catil.* 2.9):

And acquainted with his exercises of rapes and crimes, his fellow conspirators considered him strong due to his ability to endure cold, hunger, thirst, and lack of sleep, although he used his assiduity and his natural talent for virtuous behavior only for his lust and presumption.

atque idem tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumeret.

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and concealed the other, aspired to the possessions of others, but was generous with his own; his passion was tinderlike, his eloquence very good, while his wisdom was less developed.' (*corpus* ***patiens inediae*** *algoris* ***vigiliae*** *supra quam quoiquam credibile est.* ***animus audax****, subdolus, varius, quoius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni adpetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus;* ***satis eloquentiae****, sapientiae parum.*)

46 *Catil.* 1.26 (with Dyck 2008, 112), 2.9, 2.10, 2.22.

In the third speech, Cicero acknowledges the *instrumenta virtutis* without such moral qualification. Obviously, Cicero enlarges the picture of Catiline at the moment he has finally defeated his conspiracy in order to make his victory even greater. The virtues he celebrates here are connected to a military realm, nicely fitting his own self-fashioning as a *dux togatus*. It shows that Cicero was well aware that only to win against a worthy, and that means, a potentially equal enemy gives enough glory to the winner.[47]

The military *instrumenta virtutis* are famously alluded to by Sallust at the beginning of his *Bellum Catilinae* (*corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae*, see above n. 45).[48] In Sallust, Catiline is presented as an excellent soldier and a potential hero whose talents have been misled by the circumstances and by general weaknesses in his character and have thus become ruinous for himself.[49] The fact that Sallust does not paint Catiline as a purely dark figure creates potential overlap between Catiline and his opponents on the one hand, and the moral stance of the narrator on the other, in terms of both the characterization and the terminology Sallust adopts. This has often been interpreted as the historian's reflection on the crisis of the state he describes, a crisis that manifests itself in the implosion of moral compasses.[50] Also in Cicero, Catiline's portrayal, negative as it is, has some aspects that hint towards the opponent and the narrator of the events: Cicero himself. The focus on the night, which this chapter has adopted, helps us to understand that in the end Cicero and Catiline are not so different at all.[51] They are both similarly able to work day and night for their plans. But Cicero had, in his own eyes, the advantage that he had chosen the right path. The division between him and his great opponent is not one of nature, but of ethics.[52]

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47 Cf. Dyck 2008, 82 ad Cic. *Catil.* 1.8: Cicero portrays Catiline as the master of wakefulness and then, in a second step, competes with him in his own field of excellence. Cf. also Riggsby 2010, 95 on Cicero's choice "to play up both the magnitude of the threat and the magnitude of his control over it."

48 Cf. Vretska 1976, vol. 1, 128 ad loc.: the characteristics "gehören dem römischen Soldatenideal an."

49 Catiline's positive potential shows itself most clearly in the final battle and in his brave death, according to Vretska 1976, vol. 2, 689 ad 61.4: "ein Bild, würdig eines gefallenen römischen Feldherrn." McGushin 1977, 288 ad loc. compares the scene to the deaths of Decius Mus the Elder and the Younger (two uncontested Roman heroes and exemplary figures) in Livy 8.10.10 and 10.29.19.

50 See recently Feldherr 2013, 65. Batstone 2010, 50–51.

51 In this, I agree with Habinek 1998, 81, who stresses that Cicero's rhetoric of division at the end reminds us "of the essential similarity" between Cicero's and Catiline's supporters.

52 See Joosse in this volume (98–100) on night as a "marker of ethical judgement" in Plato. His reference to Pl. *Lg.* 807c7–808c9 is especially revealing: Plato defines the magistrates'

6 Conclusion

In all the passages discussed in this chapter, the term 'night' refers to actual nocturnal affairs, but should be understood at the same time as connected to the metaphor circling around the absent formulation of a *rei publicae nox*. (Even if it does not appear often in Cicero's works, the references cover all periods of his public career, so that we can assume that the concept actively remained in his rhetorical repertoire most of his life.) However, the night turns out to be a rather ambiguous concept, one that eludes clear black-and-white attributions. Therefore I tentatively propose to read it as a productive concept, a time of testing when Romans must show openly on whose side they stand.[53] Read as such, it also makes sense on more than a literal level that at the end of the third *Catilinarian* Cicero connects the moment of relief he has brought to Rome with the night (*Catil.* 3.29):

> You, citizens, because it is night, worship Jove, the guardian of this city and of you; go off to your houses, and even if the danger is put down, defend them nevertheless with the same sentinels and *vigiliae* as last night.
>
> *vos, Quirites,* ***quoniam iam est nox,*** *venerati Iovem illum, custodem huius urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam iam est periculum depulsum, tamen* ***aeque ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite.***

The war, and therefore the time of testing, is not over yet. The Roman citizens should therefore go to venerate Jove, who has shown himself especially propi-

activity at night as beneficial for the city and bad for any evil-doer. Whether Cicero (who famously was heavily influenced by Platonic thought and even tried to shape his image as a kind of Roman Plato) already had Plato's *Laws* in mind when composing his *Catilinarians*, is difficult to say: the *Laws* would of course become a major source of inspiration some ten years later when he was writing his Platonic trilogy *De oratore, De re publica*, and *De legibus*.

53 This is even more fascinating if one considers that at least at the beginning of the affair, when delivering his first *Catilinarian* speech, Cicero did not know who was on his side in the senate. Cf. on this well-known aspect the by now classical interpretation of Batstone 1994, who argues that the first *Catilinarian* is "finally about Cicero" and the construction of his ethos; cf. also Steel 2007, who identifies Cicero's strategy to give advice instead of orders as a clever response to his weak position; Price 1998, instead, interprets the speech as a failure.

tious towards Cicero; thus, by worshipping Jove, they also line up with Cicero and should keep nocturnal watch as he will continue to do. Even more explicitly, we find the link between the night and a choice on whose side you stand in the fourth *Catilinarian*. The senators are invited to make their decision on whose side they stand before the next night approaches: 'Be that as it may, you have to take a decision, before the night, regarding in what direction your minds and decisions are inclined.' (*nunc quicquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, **statuendum vobis ante noctem est**, Catil.* 4.6).[54] Once they have taken this decision in daytime, so I am inclined to assume, they can fulfill their duties as righteous citizens also between dusk and dawn. The meeting of the senate will stop at sunset, but this does not mean that Roman politics only happened during daytime.[55]

Even the mentioning of the *rei publicae nox* in the more pessimistic context of the *Brutus* is not free of ambiguity. By way of a ring composition, at the end of the *Brutus* Cicero returns to the idea expressed in the preface: his colleague and rival Hortensius is lucky that he was allowed to die before the outburst of the civil war in 49 BCE. At the end, Cicero himself would wish for the same fate, but has to live on in the deepest darkness of the *rei publicae nox* (*Brut.* 330):

> I for myself am sad that I started the path, so to speak, of my life so late that I fell into this night of the republic before the path was finished; but one comfort keeps me going (a comfort you gave to me in your extremely sweet letter in which you urged me to be brave): you wrote that I have accomplished deeds that will speak of me even if I am silent, and that I will live even when I am dead.
>
> *equidem etsi doleo me in vitam paulo serius tamquam in viam ingressum, priusquam confectum iter sit, in **hanc rei publicae noctem** incidisse, tamen ea consolatione sustentor quam tu mihi, Brute, adhibuisti tuis suavissimis litteris, quibus me forti animo esse oportere censebas, quod ea gessissem, quae de me etiam me tacente ipsa loquerentur viverentque mortuo.*

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54 Dyck 2008, 207 ad loc. refers to the fact that senatorial decisions had to be taken at daytime.

55 *Pace* Welch 2007. Cf. for a late parallel the third *Philippic*, in which Cicero in the *peroratio* promises that, given the dangerous situation, he will not leave any time unused for thinking how he can serve the freedom of Rome: *nullum tempus, patres conscripti, dimittam, neque diurnum neque nocturnum* (*Phil.* 3.33); shortly afterwards (3.36) he points out that the crisis has one advantage: the choice concerning which political idea to follow is clear-cut and manifest by now. See Joosse in this volume, who on p. 109 remarks that according to Plato the night can reveal people's 'real' character.

But there still is a bit of solace. His brave actions can at least guarantee his everlasting *memoria*. In the sentence which immediately follows, Cicero comments on his deeds: 'my actions would testify my attitude towards the state through its salvation, if things were fair, or through its destruction, if they are not fair' (*quae, si recte esset, salute rei publicae, sin secus, interitu ipso testimonium meorum de re publica consiliorum darent*). The ultimate testimony, of course, is provided by his carefully constructed writing—in his own words, *meae* ***vigiliae*** *meaeque litterae*—, which, so he says, will serve the younger generation as a model and will bring fame to the Roman people (*et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid afferrent*, *Phil.* 2.20). Even if under Caesar's dictatorship the night is no longer a time to fight with the political weapons he used to have in hand, still Cicero would not be himself if he were to simply go to bed. He only takes up different arms for his nightly mission: his writing pen.[56]

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56 Butler 2002 is a fascinating study about the possibility of using the written word as public *signum* in the first century BCE; on Cicero's treatises of the 40s as "'substitutes' for political activity and public discourse," cf. p. 111. Ultimately, despite his bitter despair in some of the letters, Cicero does not seem to frame night as the eternal darkness, but as a night that will at least potentially be followed by a new day, i.e., by new hope (for these two possibilities, see above n. 34). Thanks to Cynthia Damon for having suggested this thought to me.

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CHAPTER 11

Inn-Dependent: Spending the Night in a Hostel in the Roman World

Jane Sancinito

1 Introduction

In his defense of Milo, Cicero poses two questions to the judges: why did Clodius set off on a journey for Rome, and why did he travel by night?[1] To Cicero's mind, this was suspicious behavior, of the kind that he could immediately liken to robbers preparing an ambush.[2] Ignoring the fact that Clodius was just as likely to be prey as predator and that this particular journey cost him his life, Cicero was fundamentally right: it was a dangerous business being out on the roads of the Roman world after dark, and, as twilight fell, honest travelers hastened to find a safe place to spend the night.

For most in the ancient world, this meant finding a room at an inn or a hostel,[3] the staple institutions for the merchant or businessman away from home. Inns provided for the basic needs of travelers: room and board, as well as entertainment and stabling for animals.[4] These institutions were as com-

1 Cic. *Mil.* 49: *Cur Romam properaret, cur in noctem se coniceret?*

2 Cic. *Mil.* 50. For further consideration of Cicero's approach to the night and nocturnal activities, see Pieper's chapter in this volume.

3 In English, the difference between an inn and a hostel is generally one of duration, with the hostel generally providing options for longer stays than an inn. Modern hostels may also be attached to institutions of some kind, whereas inns or their large counterparts, hotels, are privately run. For the purposes of this paper, an inn remains a small, independently run business, solely dedicated to providing lodging, while a hostel is understood to cover situations where a traveler might find a room for a night at an establishment that was primarily another business, such as a tavern or restaurant.

4 Inns and hostels were not a common topic of research in the twentieth century, and many of the major works still trace their origin back to the work of Michel and Fournier 1851. The history of this field is complicated by the fact that the first major anglophone work on this subject, Firebaugh 1928, is an uncredited translation of Michel and Fournier 1851, and it is a translation marked with inaccuracies and redundancies. This case of plagiarism was first discovered by Susan Rhodes, M.D., and Bill Thayer, who traced the matter to its source through a reference to a non-existent figure in Plutarch. Details of this discovery

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mon as they were necessary.[5] Inns and hostels, at least in the Latin-speaking world, were identified by the same terminology that covered the numerous taverns, bars, and even brothels found in the empire's urban spaces and spreading out along its major roadways.[6] They are referred to as, alternately, *cauponae* or *tabernae*, eliding those businesses that provided rooms for travelers, or even semi-permanent lodgers, and those that sold only food and drink. Linguistically, the differences are opaque,[7] and it is probable that, from the perspective of the traveler, it was often uncertain whether a room was available until one was offered by the host, generally known as a *caupo* or *copo*.[8] In the Greek world, the inn or hostel was often the *kapêleion*, a term also used for a more generic tavern. These houses of rest were also called *pandocheia*, places with a welcome for all, or at least all who could afford it. The *pandocheion* was more clearly a place to rent a room than a *kapêleion*, but it provided a similar array of services for travelers.[9]

In both the literary and the epigraphic record, the rooms, food, and company available at inns and hostels are consistently regarded as poor in quality. Roman authors of all kinds display disdain for inns and the shoddy services they offered. Horace, in his *Satires* and *Epistles*, comments on the smoky rooms and foolish hosts that ran these establishments and asserts that one would not wish to live at an inn.[10] Petronius talks about hostels as dirty, bug-infested

are recorded at http://elfinspell.com/ClassicalTexts/Firebaugh-TheInnsOfGreeceAndRome/MyIntro.html. The most comprehensive survey of specifically Roman inns comes from Kleberg 1957, while the most recent work on inns and hostels in the ancient world has come from scholars of Jewish Studies, e.g., Rosenfeld 1998, and historians of Late Antiquity, most notably Constable 2003.

5 Evidence of inns in the archaeological record has grown dramatically over the course of the last century. See an early collection of this evidence in Kleberg 1957, and more recently in Kruschwitz 2006. Women as innkeepers have been confirmed in excavations at Vindonissa; see Allison 2013, 28 for discussion. It should be noted that the 'must haves' for an inn are minimal, and many spaces, used for other purposes during the day, could have served as hostels by night with only one additional room beyond the public space where the host lived and worked.

6 By and large, these were private establishments, as the regular way-stations of the *cursus publicus* were unavailable to most travelers, who lacked the official documents that opened those doors. See: Lemcke 2016, 20; Di Paola 1999, 61–73.

7 *Pace* Kleberg 1957, ch. 1, who argues for strong divisions among those words referring to only an eatery and those which also had rooms. Unfortunately, these categories seem to break down upon closer scrutiny, especially later in the Roman period, which is beyond the chronological boundaries of Kleberg's investigation.

8 As in the Appendix Vergiliana, *Copa* 1.

9 See Kleberg 1957, ch. 1, for a full array of possible referents.

10 Hor. *S.* 1.5.71–74 and *Ep.* 1.11.12.

places, while other authors express even greater concerns about spending the night in one of these establishments.[11] The issue at stake in many cases is one of social status, and Horace, along with many other authors, juxtaposes the meager hospitality of inns with the graciousness of his friends who opened their homes to him.[12] Inns were acceptable for merchants and messengers—in short, for professional travelers—, but important, wealthy men were expected to have friends, or friends of friends, in every corner of the world, not to mention country homes of their own where they might spend the night.[13]

Yet the literary bias against inns goes beyond a wealthy man's distaste for sleeping in a rented room.[14] Roman narratives about inns include many that describe inns as ambivalent places, which provide the setting for everything from murder to miracles. The idea of the inn evoked strong emotional responses, both positive and negative, in the Roman mind, leading to narratives of extreme situations. Spending the night in a strange place, away from the security of one's own home or that of a friend's house, was an unnerving experience, and, if we are to believe our literary sources, guests at hostels approached the prospect with significant anxiety. Narratives about inns reflect this worry, and few, if any, Roman authors convey a neutral night spent in an inn, where one simply slept and moved along in the morning; rather, a stay at an inn opened the guest up to a transformative experience and to the extremes of fortune, both good and bad.

These experiences transcend cultural boundaries and are found in the works of all kinds of Roman authors, including not only those of the traditional canon, but also a variety of authors ranging from rabbis to scribblers of graffiti. In general, these sources have at least one of two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, they may present the inn as a place of violence and danger. In these stories, entering an inn meant taking one's life into one's own hands and constituted a risk of astounding proportions. On the other hand, the inn could be a place of refuge where the dangers of the road were kept at bay by the watchful care of the hostel's owner. At their most extreme, these narratives convey not only safety and protection, but also miraculous positive changes, healing, and even resurrection. Both negative and positive versions of

11 Petr. 98, 124. Concerns range from cheating customers to violence and murder: Cic. *Inv.* 2.4 (14), Cic, *Phil*, 2. 31 (77), Cic. *Mil.* 24, Hor. *S.* 1.1.29.

12 Hor. *S.* 1.5.2 and 1.5.50; Plautus offers evidence that it was common for inns to also be brothels, and therefore inappropriate places for gentlemen to meet, Pl. *Men.* 437.

13 This was one of the many benefits attached to the Roman understanding of *amicitia*; see Verboven 2002, for a recent discussion. For friends of friends, see, e.g., Apul. *Met.* 1.21 ff.

14 Or against the lowness of the owners of such establishments, see Kleberg 1957, 82.

the inn could include references to the magical and mystical, making the inn, already a liminal place caught between a traveler's point of origin and destination, into a place where the barriers between worlds thinned and remarkable things became possible. Critically, the time of day, or night, is essential to these narratives, and offers a reflection of how perceptions and preconceived notions about places could be affected by the presence, or absence, of daylight.

2 Danger and Safety: Two Sides of the Same Coin

An inscription from Aesernia records, comically, the act of settling the bill after a stay at an inn.[15] The guest pays for his room, food and drink, the company of a prostitute, and the cost of stabling for his donkey in a long, comic, but plausibly typical, account. Not listed, but implicit in every bill paid at such an establishment, was the promise of the guest's safety. Along with the mattress and four walls, visitors paid for a place to sleep away from the dangers of the night. At an inn they received protection from the elements and from animals, as well as from the robbers and bandits that proliferated along the roadways of the empire.[16] Hosts were bound by law to provide protection to all those they welcomed under their roofs, and they bore a legal liability for the property and personal safety of guests.[17]

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15 *CIL* 9.2689, Funerary Monument of L. Calidius Eroticus and Fannia Voluptas, which depicts an innkeeper and a hooded traveler, leading a mule. Above, the inscription reads: *L. Calidius Eroticus | sibi et Fanniae Voluptati v(ivus) f(ecit). | copo, computemus. habes vini* Ↄ *I, pane[m] | a(sse) I, pulmentar(ium) a(ssibus) II. convenit. puell(am), | a(ssibus) VIII. et hoc convenit. faenum | mulo, (assibus) II. iste mulus me ad factum | dabit* ('Lucius Calidius Eroticus made this, while living, for himself and for Fannia Voluptas. INNKEEPER: Let's settle the bill. You have a sextarius of wine, one *as*, bread, one *as*, the sides, two *asses*. [GUEST:] That's right. [INNKEEPER:] A girl, eight *asses*. [GUEST:] And that's also right. [INNKEEPER:] Hay for the mule, two *asses*. [GUEST:] That mule will ruin me'; translations are mine unless otherwise indicated). The translation of the final line is uncertain, but there is almost certainly meant to be a humorous turn to the 'story,' blaming the traveler's mule for his extravagance after the traveler has spent a great deal at the inn. The inscription is highly untypical, both as a funerary monument and as a Roman inscription, more generally.

16 Shaw 2003.

17 *Dig.* 4.9 and 47.5. There has been some debate about whether innkeepers held the legal right to reject guests asking for a room, now largely resolved in Bogen 1992, who argues that innkeepers held an obligation to be open to the public, but not to accept all comers. His reading recognizes that previous interpretations draw too heavily on English commonlaw, to the detriment of the Roman context.

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, we see a representation of how seriously innkeepers might take this responsibility. A Thessalian inn is described as having heavy gates that were watched by a guard who was tasked to question any who attempted to leave at night and to keep a careful watch on those who entered during the day (Apul. *Met.* 1.15):[18]

> "Hey you, where are you?" [Aristomenes] said. "Open the doors of the inn; I want to leave before dawn."
>
> The porter, lying on the ground behind the doorway of the inn, even now half asleep, replied, "What? Don't you know that the roads are filled with robbers? Are you beginning a trip this night? Even if you are aware of some crime of yours and you absolutely want to die, I don't have such a pumpkin-head that I am going to die for you …"
>
> He, apathetic and half-asleep, turned onto his other side. He said, "And how can I know that you haven't killed that traveling companion of yours with whom you lodged late yesterday, and are not commanding the protection of escape?"

In a comic twist, the guard is asleep on the job when Aristomenes, the protagonist of this inset narrative, attempts to flee in the night, but he is awake enough to remind Aristomenes of the dangers that lie outside the inn. The guard makes the point that his own life, as well as that of the guests, depends upon keeping the gates closed, and, like Cicero, he finds the decision to start a journey at night first surprising, and then deeply suspicious. Looking at Aristomenes' haste, the result of magical occurrences that the porter cannot know,[19] he even turns the matter around, accusing Aristomenes of fleeing some crime. He challenges Aristomenes, asking where his traveling companion is. He suspects that some evil has befallen the man, and says that he cannot know, based on Aristomenes' mad behavior, whether his friend is still alive.

18 This section of the narrative is laden with unease, beginning with the strange ensnarement of Aristomenes' friend, Socrates, the appearance and actions of the witch, Meroe, and her companion, Panthia, and culminating in the 'first' death of Socrates. It is thus uncertain how much of the passage with the guard can be seen as a literal reflection of that space and how much is an extension of Aristomenes' nightmare writ on the waking world. There are archaeologically attested inns at Pompeii with confirmed wall structures; see Packer 1978. These are usually interpreted as barriers erected to keep animals inside, though they would have offered some protection against robbers as well.

19 Discussed fully below, the episode seems to be part dream, part witchcraft, which was believed to be particularly common in Thessaly.

Implicitly, the guard is concerned that the real danger for the inn may have been welcomed within its walls during the day, only to show its true colors after night had fallen. While attacks by robbers are the most common violence recorded in and around hostels, *this* is the fear that preoccupies many Roman authors: that real dangers might originate within the 'safety' of the inn, not outside it, and that a spot that appeared innocent, if not wholesome, by day, may turn deadly by night.

This is most clearly apparent in an account of a prophetic dream recorded by Cicero in his *De divinatione*.[20] In the story, two traveling companions part ways in the evening, with one spending the night at an inn while the other took advantage of a friend's hospitality (Cic. *Div.* 1.57):

> Once two friends from Arcadia were making a journey together and came to Megara. One man put up at an inn, while the other stayed at the house of a friend. That man, after he and his friend had dined and gone to bed, in the first sleep of the night, saw in his dreams the man who was in the inn begging him to save him, because death was being plotted for him by the innkeeper. At first, greatly frightened by the dream, he got up; then, when he had collected himself and led himself to believe that the vision was nothing, he went back to bed. Then, while he was sleeping, the same man appeared to ask him, since he would not rescue him while he was living, that he not allow him to be unavenged when dead. He had been killed by the innkeeper and was thrown into a cart, and manure had been cast over his body. The vision sought that he be at the gate in the morning before the cart could leave the town. The man was truly moved by this dream, and in the morning, he was ready at the gate for the cart driver. He asked him what was in the cart. The man fled in terror, and the traveler dug up the dead man. Having reported the matter, the innkeeper was punished.

The travelers are faced with two typical options upon their arrival: they may either visit with someone they know or hire a room at the local inn. The pair exercise their best judgement in their decision-making, and, while one enjoys a night in safety, the other is set upon by the innkeeper, murdered in the night, and suffers the further indignity of having his corpse mistreated. Through the betrayal of the innkeeper, the passage highlights the impossibility of purchasing safety, once again juxtaposing the inn with the private home. Ironically, the

20 Almost certainly drawn from Chrysippus, *On Visions in Sleep*; see Algra 2009, 377 and Algra 2011, 87, who believes this is a Stoic narrative.

fee that the guest at the inn had paid did not form the contract that he had anticipated, one that would secure his safety, but rather only served to whet the appetite of the innkeeper, who, presumably, was driven to kill by the greed that was commonly associated with those in this profession.[21]

Cicero's account is designed to showcase an instance of true prophecy through dreams, and is focused, accordingly, on the perspective of the dreamer. To this man, the report of the perfidy of the innkeeper is deeply troubling. Not only does the first dream wake him fully and drive him from his bed, but it keeps him awake for some time, requiring that he compose himself. He is only able to do so because he is himself in a position of safety. He wakes only to find that all is quiet and peaceful within his friend's house. In his second dream, the vision, or perhaps ghost, of his friend, chides him for his complacency, indirectly advertising the benefits of staying with friends, where one can afford to be complacent. While there is no blame attached to the murdered man's assumption that all would be well at the inn, the story is clear that an inn and its host, ultimately, were not to be trusted like a friend.

Cicero raises the specter of the murderous innkeeper again in his *De inventione*, in a case where an innkeeper not only kills a guest, but frames another for the crime.[22] Such narratives are not out of place in the Roman tradition. Cicero is in good company when in casting the inn as a place of danger and violence. Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* relates how an innocent traveler was attacked and then bound and beaten, because his traveling companion was, unbeknownst to him, a wanted murderer.[23] In a very different context, the fourth-century CE apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* recounts the murder of a prostitute at an inn.[24] To these stories, at least three historical deaths may be added. The first is the death of Clodius in 52 BCE.[25] Though the details of the episode are unclear, and there were likely multiple deaths as a result of the incident, neither the prosecution nor Cicero disputed that Clodius, injured from the first violent clash on the Appian Way between his own men and those of Milo, fled to a nearby inn, only to be dragged from the building and killed. Cicero's argument in Milo's defense casts the episode as commensurate with a robbery, in which the aggressor, Clodius, was ultimately killed by the victim, Milo, but offers no absolution to the innkeeper who welcomed an injured man into his business.[26]

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21 E.g., Pl. *Lg*. 918c9–d2, 936b3–c7; Talmud Ta'anit 21a; Hor. *S*. 1.5.3.

22 Cic. *Inv*. 2.4 (14).

23 Ach. Tat. 7.3.

24 *Acta Thomae* 51–57. This passage is discussed below.

25 Asc. *Mil*. 32; also described in App. *BC* 2.21.

26 Cic. *Mil*. 49 ff.

Two further deaths are reported in a fourth-century CE inscription from Syria, where a pair of men were murdered at the inn of Theodorus near Laodicea.[27] The details of this incident are unknown, but the identification of the inn and its innkeeper suggests that, as in the case of Cicero's Arcadian travelers, the man who ran the inn may have been involved in the incident.

Nighttime plays a major role in these incidents, as most of these deaths may be associated with either twilight or the true dark of the night. Cicero's account and the corroboration of Asconius' commentary hint that the events on the Appian Way took place largely at night, with the first clash set just before sunset and the final retrieval of Clodius' body occurring after night had fallen.[28] The clash in *Leucippe and Clitophon* is similarly set in the evening, at dinnertime, after the travelers had walked for the day and finally come to an inn.[29] In part, this must be attributed to the fact that there was little use for an inn in daylight, but it is significant that these narratives culminate with violent, even deadly, conflict, not during the heat of the day, when tempers might flare, but only after the sun had set, and crimes might be more readily concealed.

More common than murder, however, is the other major crime reported at and around inns and hostels,[30] already hinted at in Cicero's texts and in Apuleius: robbery. At least in the literary tradition, being beaten and robbed by bandits was commonplace on the roadways of the Roman empire, and inns seem to have been particularly active *loci* for this kind of predation. Not only did robbers take advantage of the density of travelers in these places, but sources claim that robbers were often encouraged by nefarious innkeepers. Ulpian, in the *Digest*, says that innkeepers were commonly in league with robbers, and that it was only the provisions of Roman law that kept them from making a permanent and open alliance with such men.[31]

The association between innkeepers and robbers transcends cultural boundaries and appears with equal force in the rabbinic tradition. The Genesis, or Bereshit, Rabbah imagines an innkeeper who would rob his guest and ally himself with bandits (Genesis Rabbah, 92.6):

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27 *SEG* 20.372, Syria, 342 CE.

28 Asc. *Mil.* 31 puts the conflict between the hours of 3 and 6 pm, which, in mid-January, would set the conflict at, and then after, sunset.

29 Ach. Tat. 7.3.

30 Many other less serious 'crimes' and inconveniences are reported; see, e.g., *CIL* 4.3948, 4.4957, 4.10675.

31 *Dig.* 4.9.1.1: *necesse est plerumque eorum fidem sequi et res custodiae eorum committere. ne quisquam putet graviter hoc adversus eos constitutum: nam est in ipsorum arbitrio, ne quem recipiant, et nisi hoc esset statutum, materia daretur cum furibus adversus eos quos recipiunt coeundi, cum ne nunc quidem abstineant huiusmodi fraudibus.*

> There was an incident in the south in which a certain innkeeper would get up and get dressed in traveling clothes at night and say to those who were there, “Get up and leave, since I am a slave of the caravan,” and they would leave and thieves would precede them, and then rob them, and then go up and split [the profits] with [the innkeeper].[32]

Just as in Cicero’s story of the prophetic dream, the center of this narrative is the innkeeper’s betrayal of his guests during the night. Rather than protect them from danger, the innkeeper actively throws his guests into the path of the robbers they hoped to avoid. The circumstances of the inn allow for this particular kind of deceit, since, ‘in the south,’ caravans were used as protection against thieves. The guests at this inn hoped to avoid traveling alone and waited at the inn to meet up with the caravan. The innkeeper’s trick plays upon the guests’ expectation that the caravan would arrive suddenly and move on quickly. As a result, he is able to convince them of the need to leave immediately, even in the dead of night, or risk being left behind.

The innkeeper sends his guests out into the darkness, into the path of the robbers they had been hoping to avoid, and the man was compensated with his share of the profits. Despite Ulpian’s cynicism about the nature of innkeepers,[33] this kind of behavior contravened social and moral expectations, most clearly those pertaining to guests and the responsibilities of hosts. The relationship between guest and host was one that was founded on trust, even as money changed hands and legal provisions were enacted;[34] to have an innkeeper betray that trust was a violation of both tacit and explicit agreements between the traveler and the innkeeper, which, in exchange for proper payment, were meant to guarantee the safety of the guest. Though the innkeeper was a stranger, and the inn was an unfamiliar place, in at least its ideal form, the inn was a safe space, and the violation of that space, especially by the host himself, was a crime that captured the imagination of Roman authors.

Of course, not all inns were unfamiliar and not all innkeepers were truly strangers. Once again in the *Satires*, Horace comments that a horse might grow

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32 Translated by Dr. Jae Hee Han. The passage is a moral tale, designed to highlight the piety and intelligence of a guest who ultimately defeats the evil innkeeper by appealing to God in a way that the innkeeper does not understand.

33 *Dig*. 4.9.1.1.

34 Sancinito 2018, esp. ch. 3, addresses the importance of trust in ancient commercial activity. Though the social rules of hospitality may have applied in slightly nuanced ways to the commercial host, it was nevertheless vital for innkeepers to emulate private hosts as much as possible and represent themselves as friendly and trustworthy. See also Venticinque 2016 and Hawkins 2016 on issues of merchant reputation and trust.

so familiar with a journey that its master regularly made that it would instinctively turn off the road at particular stables.[35] Similarly, Plutarch notes that innkeepers actively sought repeat business by calling out to travelers they recognized from previous visits.[36] Since an innkeeper who had previously robbed his or her guests could not expect repeat business, we must assume that most innkeepers were honest men and women, who did their best to offer good service, regardless of the stereotypes that surrounded their profession.

Despite the poor reputation that inns and innkeepers held in the Roman world,[37] the evidence suggests that, in some circumstances, inns enjoyed a more favorable reception, particularly in instances of violence occurring on the road. Attacks by robbers and bandits, despite the rumor that innkeepers were in league with such people, drove travelers into the relative safety of inns at night, and there was a long-standing tradition of injured travelers retreating to inns to recover. Before his death, Clodius followed this impulse, and a traveling merchant in Apuleius, Socrates, did this twice, first recovering after a robbery and second when his romance with the first innkeeper-cum-witch had soured.[38]

The most famous examples, however, come from the Christian tradition, and most famously from the story of the Good Samaritan. In the parable, the Samaritan brings an injured man, a traveler coming from Jerusalem to Jericho who had been attacked by robbers, to an inn (Luke 10:30, 33–35):

> A man was traveling from Jerusalem to Jericho and he was attacked by robbers; when they had stripped him and beat him, they left, leaving him for dead … But a traveling Samaritan came upon him and, seeing him, took pity on him. He approached him and bound up his wounds and poured on oil and wine, and, furthermore, he put him on his own animal and carried him to an inn and took care of him. On the next day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper and said to him: "Take care of him, and whatever you spend I will repay to you upon my return."

The Samaritan recognized inns as places of healing and recovery. He knew that he could pay the innkeeper, not merely for the use of a room, but also for the food and care that the injured man required. Through the Samaritan's request, the hostel was transformed into a de facto hospital, a trend that continued in

35 Hor. *S.* 1.15.

36 Plu. *Mor. De Vitioso Pudore* 8.

37 Kleberg 1957, 82.

38 Apul. *Met.* 1.7.

the later Christian tradition. The hagiographies of St. Sampson the innkeeper and St. Goar of Aquitaine both contain stories of healing taking place at inns,[39] with St. Sampson's *xenon*, guest house, becoming the first formal hospital in the city of Constantinople.[40] The Samaritan parable grew alongside these real-world institutions, and by the sixteenth century the original story had evolved to the point that, in Petrus Papeus' narrative, the Samaritan actually paid the innkeeper to go seek out others to heal.[41]

This kindness associated with inns and innkeepers goes a long way from the murderous host of Cicero's dreamer and the robber-innkeepers of the Genesis Rabbah and Apuleius, but these two ends of the spectrum are the natural result of the same anxiety: uncertainty about what a night at an inn would bring and what kind of person an innkeeper truly was. Whereas accounts of death and danger are the result of cynicism and doubt concerning whether the innkeeper was truly as good as he or she seemed, accounts of healing and protection take the innkeeper at his word, or even optimistically extrapolate beyond it, turning the innkeeper into a guardian and the inn into a place of safety, recovery, and healing.

3 Magic, Mischief, and Miracles

These are literary extremes, crafted to relate moral lessons or to create or resolve narrative tensions, but it is rare to see any account of an inn that relates the factual arrival of a traveler at a hostel and his or her prosaic experiences in that space. Rather, most sources use one of these two tropes, or, alternatively, elevate them to a higher level that included, on top of human challenges, magic or divine activity. To an extent, Cicero's account of the prophetic dreamer already relies on the supernatural to heighten the drama of the murder taking

39 Also known as St. Sampson the Hospitable; miraculous healings at his inn/hospital are recorded in the seventh-century *Miracula Sancti Artemii*. He is associated with a legend in which he, or his followers, healed the emperor Justinian I, who then refounded the inn as a hospital. St. Goar of Aquitane's life is preserved in the *Legenda et Miracula Sancti Goaris* (sometimes rendered *Vita et Miracula Sancti Goaris*), which was available from at least the fifteenth century. These themes also appear in the life of St. Eulogios the innkeeper, a sixth-century stonecutter and innkeeper, who was known for both his hospitality and his moral frailty.

40 *Vita Sancti Sampsonis*, of which the earliest manuscript is probably eleventh century, see Miller 1990, 101, n. 1 for a full discussion of the manuscript tradition.

41 *Samarites—Comoedia de Samaritano Evangelico* (1539) by Petrus Papeus, Act 5 Scene 7; see the recent edition of Nodes 2017.

place elsewhere. Remarkable dreams are common among guests at inns, and some are explicitly connected to magic and witchcraft.

The guest in Apuleius, Aristomenes, who hoped to leave the inn during the night, was motivated by one variety of these magical dreams.[42] In his dreams, he saw the innkeeper-witch, Meroe, who had harassed his friend Socrates, appear in his room at the inn, and watched as she and her accomplice, Panthia, tormented him and murdered Socrates. The witches arrived at nightfall and harassed the men for an extended time before leaving Aristomenes with the body of his dead friend.[43] Aristomenes attempts to flee the inn, still under the cover of darkness, but is prevented by the guard, whose suspicions naturally tend in this direction. In the morning, all seems well, and Aristomenes is inclined to believe that the whole episode was a nightmare. Like Cicero's dreamer, Aristomenes found greater comfort in believing that these dreams were unsubstantiated, but, as with the Arcadian man, the dream eventually turned prophetic, as the witches' magic was merely delayed, and Socrates met his true death shortly after the pair left the inn. The momentary comfort of the day was not enough to dispel the lingering threat from the night before.

Inns and hostels commonly attracted similar magical or supernatural narratives. Lucian records how a traveling magician animated the door bolt or a broomstick every evening he came to an inn, so that he would not need to travel with servants.[44] Petronius makes the road near an inn the backdrop for a case of lycanthropy, a story that also appeared, in slightly different form, in a fable of Aesop, in which a thief tricked an innkeeper out of his cloak by pretending to transform into a werewolf as the moon rose.[45] Magic comes readily to the guests of inns, as well as to their hosts, particularly as the sun sets and into the watches of the night.

Innkeepers are commonly magicians, and also often women.[46] Apuleius' Meroe is the most famous of these witches, but she is not alone. We have examples of other witch-innkeepers, including one, from the life of Carus, Carinus,

42 Apul. *Met.* 1.11–17.

43 Not before urinating on him, a common component of malicious magical practice, see Watson 2004 and the case in Cic. *Inv.* 2.4 (14) of a murderer at an inn framing another guest for the crime.

44 Luc. *Philops.* 35.

45 Petr. 62; Aesop. 419 Perry.

46 Petr. 63 refers to such witches as 'night-women,' *Nocturnae*, clarifying that this was their time of power, and highlighting the anxiety that the hours of darkness evoked. Innkeeping, however, was one of a limited number of professions that single women, and especially widows, could take up. See Balsdon 1962, 224–226.

and Numerian, who prophesied the rise of the emperor Diocletian.[47] More concretely, and perhaps comfortingly for guests, most witch-innkeepers seem to have directed their malice toward one another. Meroe curses her competitors by turning them into frogs,[48] while, in the real world, curse tablets exist invoking the powers of darkness to attack innkeepers and tavern operators.[49] Nevertheless, that innkeepers were magicians was a worrying trend. That many, if not most, were women added another, transgressive layer to the matter.[50] Innkeeping was a profession that was open to older women, with or without their husbands, and the liberty that this offered to such women was a source of anxiety.[51] Roman authors frequently create narratives where these women are transgressive in other, additional ways, often sexually or supernaturally.[52]

But the supernatural was not invariably negative. Lucian's sorcerer uses magic to ease his journey, and in the Christian tradition magic, or rather miracles, proliferate in narratives involving inns. Most involve healing, including cures for blindness or other disabilities, but the most explicit example comes from the Apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, in which the apostle comes to an inn to perform not just a miracle, but an act of resurrection. A young woman, a prostitute, had been killed at the inn by a young Christian man, driven to a violent rage by her unwillingness to convert to Christianity and marry him. The man confesses his sin to St. Thomas (*Acta Thomae*, 51–57):

> And the Apostle said to him, "Come, let us go to the inn where you did this deed and see what has happened." The young man went ahead of the Apostle on the road; and when they came to the inn they found her lying dead. And the Apostle, when he saw her, was upset, for she was a pretty girl, and he ordered that she be brought into the middle of the inn. And they brought her out, placing her on a bed, and they put her in the middle

47 SHA *Carus et Carinus et Numerianus* 14. The woman in question is an innkeeper, but also a kind of Druid priestess. It is unclear to what extent she can be understood as a 'witch' as such, but her connection to prophetic knowledge places her in a supernatural category nevertheless.

48 Apul. *Met.* 1.9.

49 These texts are generally found in Classical Greek contexts; eight (four pairs) are known from Athens (cf. Lamont 2015). The gender of the caster is unclear in most of these cases.

50 For further discussion, see Bensch-Schaus's chapter in this volume.

51 The question of when (or whether) to trust female innkeepers is at the heart of the narrative of Mishnah Yevamot 16.7, where a sick man is brought to an inn and left in the care of an innkeeper. When the man subsequently dies, the innkeeper's report is trusted because she immediately returns the man's possessions to his friends.

52 Scobie 1983, 93–94; Stratton 2014.

> of the courtyard of the inn … And immediately as he drew her hand she started and sat up and looked around at the great crowd that had gathered.

Thomas' miracle takes several steps but begins by bringing the woman's body into the center of the inn and laying her out on a bed. Though the time of day is unclear in the narrative, this arrangement symbolically transforms the woman into a guest of the inn, as she is given a bed of her own. Once this is done, the Apostle is able to revive her and she, in turn, is able to recount the experience she had in hell.

In hindsight, her experience strikes her as unreal, and though, ultimately, this is a narrative of her conversion and salvation, her experience closely resembles the other dreams and nightmares experienced by guests at inns.[53] In this case, the dream and the extreme healing of resurrection are interconnected, and both require supernatural intervention to bring her to a new state of enlightenment and spiritual well-being.

4 Anxiety at Inns: Foreignness, Liminality, and the Night

Resurrection and death are poles on the spectrum of narratives about inns. As we have seen, magic allows these plots to reach greater levels of seriousness and threat, but the stories continue to mimic the extremes of positivity and negativity represented in other, less supernatural cases. Thus far, we have attributed these motifs in inn-stories to the anxiety that underlay spending the night away from home, and the worry associated with trusting a stranger with one's safety. These concerns are apparent in the extant sources, but the very nature of the inn naturally encouraged guests to worry, as did the darkness of the night.

An inn or hostel was a liminal space, one that, for the traveler, lay between two, more desirable locations. As a resting place, it was temporary and unfamiliar, but also a space that was designed to encourage guests to feel 'at home.' It offered the visitor an opportunity to purchase all the things they could need, but still remained a place that was, at best, a cheap imitation of familiarity and comfort.

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53 It also is a narrative that has some broad parallels to the eighth-century *Acts of St. Afra*, a third-century CE prostitute and innkeeper who converted to Christianity and was burned at the stake as part of the Diocletianic persecution. The narrative of the converted prostitute, especially at a hostel, is one with a long life in the Christian tradition.

In a number of narratives, the inn is made more liminal still through its location. For practical reasons, an inn was commonly found at the edge of a town or at the crossroads between two or more major roadways, but Roman authors often choose to place an inn in a foreign place where customs were strange or counterintuitive.[54] Many of the stories of inns related by Roman authors are set in Greece, and generally not in the bustling *metropoleis* of Attica or the Peloponnese. Though these spaces certainly had inns of their own, it is an inn found along a quiet stretch of road that is chosen for many of these settings. The travel required to reach such locations makes them feel more remote and makes the wondrous events that occur there seem more plausible. One could not be certain what would happen in such places, and witchcraft was generally associated with the same wild places where inns were necessary.[55]

In such a situation a Roman would feel out of place, removed from his or her home, but also from the cultural context and conventions that gave a feeling of familiarity. It is not an accident that Horace's inns, the ones he is eager to demean but also seems most willing to patronize, lie on roads to places he has visited many times, along routes where he also had friends he could visit. In such a case, a traveler was never truly far from a 'home,' either his own or that of someone he could trust. Of course, the inns of Italy were not perceived as much safer than those abroad, bearing in mind, among other cases, Clodius' murder, but Roman authors were open to the idea of, and perhaps expected, dangerous foreign inns and evidently believed that magic would be more plausible in such places.

Wherever the inn was located, the night naturally added to the mystery and anxiety surrounding inns. The normal dangers of the dark were exacerbated by unfamiliar surroundings, and the imagination of both guests and authors spun those anxieties into possibilities that included both the criminal and the supernatural. As a result, these narratives turn robbers into criminal masterminds, involved in elaborate plots to breach the walls of the inn or draw unsuspecting guests out.[56] The wild animals on the roads become werewolves, empowered

54 As in the *Acta Archelai*, where Babylonian and Roman senses of what was culturally 'normal' faced off in a narrative concerning inns on the border between the Sassanian and Roman empires. See Sancinito 2019.

55 Apuleius, Lucius, and others associate Thessaly with witchcraft, the same area where he and others keep meeting innkeepers, both witch and otherwise; cf. *Met.* 2.21; Thessalian drugs appear in Ov. *Am.* 3.7.27ff. and also, e.g., Pl. *Am.* 1043–1044, Plin. *Nat.* 30.6–7, Luc. 6.434–569.

56 These anxieties are also common in nocturnal siege narratives; see Reinhardt's and Weissmantel's chapters in this volume. Little consideration has thus far been given to the idea of the inn as a metaphorical city, surrounded by enemies without, though several texts

by the moonlight and accompanied by witches.[57] The innkeeper, who, according to graffiti at least, was, at the extreme, most likely to be merely a miser,[58] was transformed into a conjurer or criminal, able to curse and murder guests with impunity.[59]

It was in the night, and especially during the vulnerable hours of sleep, that guests felt their control of their fate slip from their hands. Whereas in daylight, and even into the early hours of evening, guests felt that they still had the ability to judge the character of their host and intended resting place, and to leave if necessary, after the moment of commitment—when one lay down to sleep, or, as in the case of Aristomenes, when one was literally locked in for the night—the literary guest, at least, could lose confidence and become plagued with anxiety. The extreme dreams that guests experienced reflect this worry, and we can imagine that it was exacerbated, at least subconsciously, by the unfamiliar sounds of the hostel settling in for the night.

The light of day dispelled these concerns, and the inn reverted to a place where assistance could be sought. Positive narratives about inns rarely provide context about the time of day, but many hint that the sun is shining, at least when the story begins to turn around. It is unclear when the traveler in the Samaritan passage, for example, is set upon by robbers, or, indeed found by the Samaritan, but it is in the morning that the Samaritan pays the innkeeper for the man's care. In the *Acts of Thomas*, the timing is similarly uncertain, but, interestingly, his miracle requires a facsimile of night to function. He must put the dead woman to bed before he can wake her, an awakening that delivers the girls from the nightmare-like visions she experienced in a place that she describes as exceedingly dark.[60]

In the morning after, the inn was no longer needed, and it could be left behind, whether the night had been passed in safety or in danger. The space, however, retained a lingering aura of ambivalence that finds its way into our sources, a sense of 'What if …?' that continued to make the inn an attractive setting for literary and religious narratives.

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identify guards responsible for the protection of the inn in terms similar to those used of city watchmen.

57 As well as Lamiae, see Ripat 2016.

58 Or, comically, its inverse in Martial 1.56.

59 Or nearly so, as a number of the criminal innkeepers get caught, as in Cic. *Div.* and the Genesis Rabbah.

60 *Acta Thomae* 57. The woman describes a journey through hell that bears similarities to the Apocalypse of Peter, a second-century CE text that offers visions of both heaven and hell.

5 Conclusion

Inns evoked extreme feelings in the Roman imagination. In fiction, they provided the setting for bizarre and magical happenings, and represented an unsettled place where unusual things were possible. Tropes developed around the inn that cast it either as a place of doom or as one of salvation, and it soon became commonplace for an inn to signal a transition or transformation in the narrative, particularly as day turned into night. My analysis has not directly addressed time per se as an independent factor in these stories, but our investigation of the positive and negative characterizations of inns has shown a strong correlation between the night, a time of unease and uncertainty, and those accounts that depict the inn as a dangerous and threatening place.

While night, in itself, is not guilty of the trouble and violence that plagued visitors to inns, evening signaled a shift from the carefree progress of the day, with its travel and business, toward a time when circumspection was needed and there was greater potential for unexpected events. Night sent most travelers scurrying to find a place of security, where they could hide away from the threats that they envisaged waiting in the darkness. Those who shunned places of refuge at this time became, themselves, one of the things that went 'bump' in the night. Still, visitors to inns and hostels brought their anxieties inside with them, and our sources are clear that they both feared and hoped for a night that brought about supernatural possibilities. The former as they imagined themselves as travelers and the latter as they vicariously experienced these exciting threats in fiction.

In the Roman imagination, a night at an inn might be filled with ominous mysteries or revelatory opportunities. Emotionally, night inspired ambivalence, a feeling that this volume has already explored in other contexts. The case of inns especially highlights the sense that night brought with it the unexpected, and both assistance and dangers that a traveler could not anticipate. Though all decent men, as Cicero expected, would seek out a safe place to spend the night, the inn was a place where external threats might even follow the unwary inside their chosen resting place.

The inn in the morning was a good place, where guests might discover that their fears were unfounded, or where they could recover from the terrors that had plagued them in the dark. Yet the inn between dusk and dawn was a worrying place, where anxieties were animated by the darkness. Roman authors played upon these concerns, building the trope of the dangerous inn and using it as a setting that their audiences could easily relate to and understand. Anyone who had traveled in the Roman world was familiar with the unease that an inn evoked, and recognized that, in a text, the inn would be the site of remarkable,

possibly magical happenings. These could be good or bad, but much depended on the time of day. In the night, the inn was a place where anything could happen.

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PART 4

Experiencing by Night

CHAPTER 12

Better Safe than Sorry: Nocturnal Divinatory Signs from a First-Century BCE Roman Perspective

Kim Beerden

1 Introduction

Current studies about the historical night show that apparently clear-cut notions about distinctions between the day as a time of activity and the night as a time of rest are much more complicated and ambiguous than they may appear at first sight. There is ambivalence about night as a space to inhabit: the night is considered to be a fearful place on the one hand, while on the other hand it is filled with a soothing silence.[1] Still, segmented sleep may have allowed for nocturnal activity in pre-industrial societies.[2] Darkness, it is said, allowed for an inversion of cultural norms, enabling irresponsible merrymaking and aggression[3] or providing a time to be alone and focus on work or writing. As for religion, darkness was perceived to facilitate communication between gods and men; yet illicit religious practices could take place at night.[4] Many of the discussions about night in relation to the day seem to address one central issue: was the Roman night seen as an extension to, or as an inversion of, the day?[5]

In this chapter I propose to reflect on the notions flagged above. This investigation is concerned with ideas about the occurrence of divinatory signs taking place at night in the Roman Republic, through the eyes of first-century BCE authors. Existing literature on the ancient world does not yet use the divinatory sources as a focus for problematizing concepts of, or ideas about, the night as such—although there are in fact quite a few sources that mention nocturnal signs.[6] We also know that time and timing were very important in ancient reli-

1 Edensor 2015, 422–438.
2 Roger Ekirch 2001, 344.
3 Laes and Strubbe 2014, 138.
4 Grethlein 2003, 18–20.
5 Ker 2004, 217–221.
6 However, it is discussed in passing, for example in Pirenne-Delforge 2018, 146–149. Cf. Chaniotis 2018b, 371. Divinatory methods thought to take place at night have been studied extensively, especially dreams, astrology, and extispicy. Recent literature on the related topic of

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gions in general, and in divination in particular.[7] It must then be assumed that it was seen as significant when signs were thought to have occurred during the night.[8] What does this show us about first-century BCE ideas about the Roman night?

The second contribution this chapter seeks to make is methodological: it problematizes whether study of the night should include only those instances where the ancient authors explicitly mention the occurrence of signs at night; or also include those instances where a Roman audience may have simply *assumed* a sign took place at night—but run the risk that we are actually using materials that refer to occurrences during the day. These methodological issues are discussed in the context of nocturnal occurrences of divinatory signs, but they are also relevant to study of the historical night in a wider sense: how do we select our source materials?

A third aim of this study is to explore how the ancient study of the night, and the occurrence of divinatory signs in particular, can contribute to larger debates about the (historical) night. It does so by situating the ancient sources in relation to modern literature on the history of nocturnalization, nocturnal literacy, the role of the senses at night, and normative evaluations of the night.

2 Definitions and Restrictions

Divination is the interpretation of a sign that has been perceived to have been sent by the supernatural—either spontaneously or after it had been requested. However, this study will only discuss the nocturnal *occurrence* of divinatory signs. When official recognition of the sign by the Senate was necessary this occurred later, during the daytime; and its interpretation could also take place at a later stage—these two later stages in the divinatory process are not discussed here. In what follows the term 'signs' is used as an overarching term to include solicited and unsolicited divinatory signs provided through dreams, extispicy, and auspices, and in the form of *prodigia*. These were all ways in which it was thought the will of the gods could be known.[9]

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epiphanies has touched on the theme of the night, where Petridou argues that the night was a time for erotic/sexual epiphanies (Petridou 2015, 235–236).

7 Beerden 2013, 157; 164; 177–178.

8 Others have remarked on the significance of nocturnal ritual (which is, in a strict sense, not dealt with here as this chapter focuses on *occurrence* of the sign), e.g., Haas 1994, 906–907.

9 Much more can be said about the functions of the particular methods. The following publication is a good start: Satterfield 2015, 431–445.

The choice to focus on the first century BCE is related to the relative wealth of source materials about Republican divination. Every nocturnal sign attested by a first-century BCE author can be taken into account to answer the question posed above: when discussed together they show a first-century BCE view on the nocturnal occurrence of signs. Even if a first-century author used earlier sources to base his work on, the information he chose to include reveals his attitude towards the nocturnal occurrence of signs.

There are, however, some further restrictions on the sources that are used here: this analysis is concerned with, and restricted to, the so-called Historical Republican divinatory signs which have been collected—and commented on—by David Engels.[10] Engels' selection is strict: he only includes the sources when they are concerned with signs which both have a relation to events in Roman Republican history and were also experienced by Romans.[11] These restrictions are suitable for current purposes because they ensure a focus on Roman views on Roman experiences. A last methodological comment is that the confusing categories of dusk and dawn have also been excluded—we should be strictly concerned with the night only.[12]

3 Nocturnal Occurrence of the Sign: Better Safe Than Sorry?

If we want to understand *night*-time divination, it may be argued that it should be absolutely certain that the sources refer to nocturnal occurrences. Sometimes the sources are very clear indeed: '[…] the sun was seen for several hours at night';[13] or: 'In the temple of the Penates the doors opened of their own accord at night […].'[14] On the other hand, the sources are regularly much less explicit than this, either because the author knew that his readers assumed the sign would have occurred at night or perhaps because he simply did not

10 Engels 2007, 22.

11 References to Greek history are also excluded, as are references to other non-Romans such as Hannibal.

12 While doing so, I acknowledge the problems regarding ancient definitions of the night due in part to the changing length of the seasonal hour, which results in the feature of darkness being inextricably related to the concept of the ancient night. Cf. Hannah 2008, 72–74. In excluding dusk and dawn from my definition, I follow Chaniotis 2018a, 1.

13 166 BCE, *RVW* 196. Obsequens (Obs.) 12: […] *sol per aliquot horas noctis visus* (ed. Weissenborn 1880; trans. Schlesinger).

14 165 BCE, *RVW* 197. Obs. 12: *In aede Penatium valvae nocte sua sponte adapertae* […] (ed. Weissenborn 1880; trans. Schlesinger).

deem it relevant to say that the sign occurred at night. Should these sources be included? Astronomical phenomena, sleep and dreams, and signs implicitly lasting through a night are the most prominent illustrations of this discussion.

3.1 *Astronomical Phenomena*

In *De divinatione* Cicero relates three instances of possibly nocturnal divinatory signs that occurred in 63 BCE. This passage is part of the speaker's longer quotation in verse from Cicero's own *De consulatu suo* (*Div.* 1.18, trans. Wardle; my italics):[15]

> For, during your consulship, you too first *observed the swift motions of the heavenly bodies and the menacing conjunction of the stars with glowing heat, when you performed purifying sacrifices on the snowy peaks of the Alban Mount and celebrated the Latin Festival with abundant milk, and you also saw shimmering comets with their bright light.* And you thought that there was much confusion involving a nocturnal massacre because the Latin Festival fell around a time of foreboding, *when the moon hid its clear shape with dulled light and was suddenly removed from the starry sky.* What means the torch of Phoebus, the herald of bitter war, which was climbing towards its zenith with blazing heat, while longing for the western parts of heaven and its setting?[16] Or when a citizen struck by an awesome thunderbolt from a clear sky departs the light of life; or when the earth trembled with its pregnant body? *Then indeed during the night various terrible forms were seen and warned of war and sedition*;[17] seers throughout the lands poured forth prophecies from frenzied breast warning of tragic outcomes.
>
> *Nam primum astrorum volucris te consule motus*
> *concursusque gravis stellarum ardore micantis*
> *tu quoque, cum tumulos Albano in monte nivalis*
> *lustrasti et laeto mactasti lacte Latinas,*
> *vidisti et claro tremulos ardore cometas;*

15 Fr. 2, ed. Giomini 1975. *RVW* 304.1, 63 BCE.

16 This appears to be a diurnal sign; cf. Wardle 2006, 149 and Pease 1920–1923, 108 [266].

17 Pease considers this a reference to ghosts roaming the land (Pease 1920–1923, 110 [268]). Wardle is more cautious and thinks this may refer to ghosts appearing in dreams (or both) (Wardle 2006, 150). On the idea of nocturnal appearances of ghosts see Damon's chapter in this volume.

multaque misceri nocturna strage putasti,
quod ferme dirum in tempus cecidere Latinae,
cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna
abdidit et subito stellanti nocte perempta est.
quid vero Phoebi fax, tristis nuntia belli,
quae magnum ad columen flammato ardore volabat,
praecipitis caeli partis obitusque petessens;
aut cum terribili perculsus fulmine civis
luce serenanti vitalia lumina liquit,
aut cum se gravido tremefecit corpore tellus.
iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae
terribiles formae bellum motusque monebant,
multaque per terras vates oracla furenti
pectore fundebant tristis minitantia casus.

The first sign may, but cannot with complete certainty, be argued to have occurred at night: it has been stated that the sign could be Aurora Borealis, which can occur during dusk and dawn (something the Romans may have known, too).[18] Did the intended audience simply assume this sign took place at night? Perhaps. The timing of the start of the rites related to the *feriae Latinae* is unknown, so circumstantial evidence does not help either.[19] The other two instances (an eclipse of the moon in a starry sky and visions at night) seem convincingly nocturnal.

Meteors and shooting stars can also be seen during dusk and dawn, and in some cases perhaps even during the day. Again, while the cultural connection between these phenomena and the night was strong, it cannot—with certainty—be called exclusive. This means that while 'At Lanuvium a meteor was seen in the sky by night' is explicitly nocturnal,[20] the following occurrence

18 As commented on by Wardle 2006, 148 and *RVW*. Pease 1920–1923 notes that *ardore* reflects the idea of light rather than heat. However, in Cic. *Catil.* 3.18 we see a reference to meteors certainly taking place at night, which has been included here as a separate reference.

19 There is much discussion about changes in the number of days for which the festival continued, but not about the time on which the first day started (although it must have been early, as indicated by the existence of accommodation on the Alban Mount; Marco Simón 2011, 125). Cf. Smith 2012, 267–288 for discussions of the festival. Schultz discusses the Feriae Latinae in her commentary but acknowledges the uncertainties regarding the timing of the festival: Schultz 2014, 81–82; cf. Pease 1920–1923, 104 [262].

20 166 BCE, *RVW* 196. Obs. 12: *Lanuvii fax in caelo nocte conspecta* (ed. Weissenborn; trans. Schlesinger).

may—but need not—have been (considered to be) nocturnal: '[…] at Anagnia there were at first shooting-stars at intervals and then a great meteor blazed out […].'[21]

3.2 *Sleep and Dreams*

Second, sleep and dreams: if we want to understand nighttime phenomena better, we can certainly use accounts of dreams.[22] Some sources do indeed state that a dream was dreamt at night (or this can be deduced).[23] For example, Cicero recounts the dream of Tarquinius Superbus who dreams of a shepherd, sheep, and an occurrence in the sky: the sun melts. He then wakes up and it becomes morning.[24]

However, this may not mean that every dream will have been nocturnal, or was necessarily assumed by author or audience to always be so. Although the great majority of dreams will have been dreamt at night, this need not necessarily always be the case; and although, in general, dreams and sleep were strongly associated with the night, we may choose to be cautious and not assume too much. Culturally specific practices related to sleeping patterns imply that segmented nocturnal sleep was usual and that a siesta was part of everyday life—perhaps resulting in daytime sleeping and dreaming.[25] The Hippocratics argued certainly that sleep took place during the night and that this was proper, but also that naps were recommended during particular times of

21 203 BCE, *RVW* 136. Liv. 30.2.11: […] *Anagniae sparsi primum ignes in caelo, dein fax ingens arsit* […] (ed. Walsh; trans. Schlesinger).

22 A volume such as Scioli and Walde 2010 does discuss dreams as nighttime phenomena, but with an aim to understand dreams better (not the night). See, however, Petridou 2015, 189–190.

23 Through vocabulary, for example: Harrison 2009, 213–215: "In literary texts, *visus*/*visum* was often used to refer to a dream when accompanied by a phrase denoting sleep or the night, such as *per quietem*, possibly because of the lack of specific dream vocabulary. However, in an inscription, dedicants use the smallest possible number of words, and so the phrase becomes shortened to just *visus*/*visum*/*ex viso* and so on."

24 Cic. *Div.* 1.44 (*RVW* 28.2).

25 Nissin 2015, 113–121; Nissin 2016, 47–49. As for segmented sleep—we certainly have references that lead us to consider this as an option, e.g., Hp. *Epid.* 5.22. Segmented sleep would have allowed for nighttime activities as was usual in pre-industrial societies, as argued by Roger Ekirch 2001, 344: "Families rose to urinate, smoke tobacco, and even visit close neighbors. Many others made love, prayed, and, most important, historically, reflected on their dreams, a significant source of solace and self-awareness"; cf. 384–385; Roger Ekirch 2015, 153–155. A discussion surrounding the siesta concerns whether people actually slept or just rested: Wiedemann 2003, 125–139.

the year.[26] One could sleep after a meal and after early morning walks.[27] Galen comments and adds that the rich slept during the day—but he clearly thought this was a bad idea.[28] The connection between dreams, sleep, and the night is certainly strong but these sources show that it is not complete.

There are, then, two options: a strict and a more liberal approach. When the strict approach is taken dreams cannot be included without careful examination because they might also have taken place during the day. When a more liberal approach is taken, it could be assumed that Romans considered all dreams to take place at night, so much so that the author did not feel it needed to be mentioned—in which case all dreams would need to be included, without question. This issue will be returned to below.

3.3 *Night as a Central or 'Coincidental' Feature*

Third, should the night be a central feature of the sign? When Livy mentions that the statue of Apollo at Cumae shed tears for three days and three nights, the night is important enough to be mentioned and it changes the length of the sign.[29] A similar importance is given to the night when it is stated that the sign lasted for three days and two nights.[30] However, if the sign occurred for a long time (implicitly including one or more nights), but the night was not mentioned in the source, should it then be used in research into cultural ideas about the night? To provide an example: when Livy reports there was a shower of stones for three days,[31] this technically also involves two nights. The night is, however, in this case not a distinguishing feature of the sign. Should the latter source be included or excluded in research into the night?

26 Hulskamp 2008, 74–75: she refers to Hp. *Vict.* 1.35 (156,14–15 Joly-Byl; 6.522 L.); Hp. *Prog.* 10 (205,9–206,2 Alexanderson; 2.134 L.); Hp. *Vict.* 3.68 (200,16–22 Joly-Byl; 6.604 L.).

27 Hulskamp 2008, 83–84 refers to Hp. *Vict.* 3.78 (6.622–624 L.); *Vict.* 2.60 (6.572–574 L.). Of course, there are other sources which explicitly connect sleep with the night, e.g., Cic. *Div.* 2.121. Still, such a source does not exclude that dreams could also take place during the day. On Hippocratic sleep see Rosen's chapter in this volume.

28 Hulskamp 2008, 96; Gal. *In Hipp. Prog.* 2.10 (269,19–270,12 Heeg; 18b. 128–130 K.). For a non-medical source see Hom. *Od.* 4.453 for an (interrupted) nap; Plin. *Ep.* 1.3.1 for bedrooms meant for use during the day; Plin. *Ep.* 9.36.3; Sen. *Ep.* 83.6; D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 4.2.3–4 for sleep around noon; Juv. 1.125–126 for an imaginary wife 'sleeping' in her carriage during the daytime.

29 Liv. 43.13.3–5 (*RVW* 186, 169 BCE).

30 Liv. 45.16.5/Obs. 11 (*RVW* 193, 167 BCE).

31 Liv. 39.22.3–4 (*RVW* 164, 186 BCE).

3.4 *Strict and Liberal Approaches*

Both strict and more liberal approaches have their merits. However, in each of the three cases discussed above I am opting to use only the sources which are explicitly concerned with nocturnal occurrences of signs and where the night is indicated as a distinguishing feature of the sign—I want to be sure, not simply assume, that the signs occurred at night. If there is only the slightest doubt that they did not, it would have consequences for the validity of research into attitudes towards the *night*. Therefore, these certain nocturnal signs are my core sources and I am taking the strict appraoch. The second group of sources consists of those that, through their assumed nocturnal occurrence, can be used to back up, supplement, or function as a contrast to the core sources.

4 Nocturnal Signs

This study will now proceed to review and analyze signs which explicitly occurred at night—and only at night—as the core of source materials which should certainly be used in an analysis of cultural values of the night. It will then reflect on inclusion of other divinatory occurrences which can (possibly) be assumed to have taken place at night.

The explicitly nocturnal divinatory signs we encounter range from those given by the voice of the gods in the context of war to sudden light appearing in a Roman city or town—and everything in between (Liv. 2.7.1–4;[32] 32.29.1–2[33]):

> Yet despite the indecisive character of the battle, so great a panic came over Tarquinius and the Etruscans that they gave up the enterprise for lost, and that same night both armies, the Veientine and the Tarquiniensian, marched off every man to his own home. To the story of this fight common report adds a prodigy: that in the silence of the following night a loud voice was heard coming out of the Arsian forest, which was believed to be the voice of Silvanus, and that this was what he said: "The Tuscans have lost one more man in the battle-line; the Romans are conquerors in the war." At all events the Romans left the field like victors, and the Etruscans like an army that has been defeated.
>
> trans. FOSTER

32 509 BCE, *RVW* 29. On hearing voices of gods, cf. Speyer 1995, 75–95; Levene 1993, 150–151. Ogilvie 1965, 248–250 is much concerned with the credibility of the idea of speaking trees and the relationship between Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

33 197 BCE, *RVW* 145. Cf. Briscoe 1973, 224, who refers to discussions of similar signs.

> *Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissa inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque suas quisque abirent domos. adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis.*
>
> ed. WEISSENBORN

> Before the consuls and praetors left for their provinces, it was decided that expiatory sacrifices should be held for the prodigies. At Rome the temples of Vulcan and Summanus had been struck by lightning, as had a wall and a gate at Fregenae; and at Frusino daylight had appeared in the middle of the night.
>
> trans. YARDLEY

> *Priusquam consules praetoresque in prouincias proficiscerentur, prodigia procurari placuit, quod aedes Volcani Summanique Romae et quod Fregenis murus et porta de caelo tacta erant, et Frusinone inter noctem lux orta.*
>
> ed. BRISCOE

However, when the signs are studied more systematically we come to results that are more conducive to answering the questions posed above. A basic, but important, preliminary observation is that, although many authors have concerned themselves with divination, only a small number—Posidonius of Apamea, Cicero, Oppius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, and Obsequens—explicitly refer to nocturnal occurrence of signs in the strict sense of the word.[34]

The kinds of nocturnal divinatory signs, based on the vehicle or medium which produced the sign (or out of which the sign consisted/manifested itself) can be categorized as: dreams,[35] sounds (animal and human),[36] light and fire

34 Authors consulted are: Sulla; Valerius Antias; Cornelius Sisenna; Licinius Macer; Posidonius of Apamea; Nigidius Figulus; Julius Caesar; Oppius; Cicero; Sallustius Crispus; Varro; Diodorus Siculus; Hyginus; Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Augustus; Livy; Livy, *Periochae*; Obsequens (Obs.). When two authors have discussed one occurrence of a particular sign, they have been taken together (where both explicitly discuss the night—if an author has not mentioned the night, I have taken him not to see it as a defining feature of the sign).

35 Liv. 26.41.18–19; Acc. *praet.* 17–28R = 651–662D = Cic. *Div.* 1.44; Liv. 8.6.9–13; Cic. *Div.* 1.18; Cic. *Div.* 1.59.

36 Liv. 2.7.2/D.H. 5.16.2; Liv. 5.32.6/Liv. 5.50.5; Liv. 10.40.2–6 (the way the eating of the chickens sounded was most important); Liv. 31.12.4; Obs. 27; Obs. 63; Obs. 68.

on earth,[37] light in the sky (including all astronomical phenomena, but also including storms and sudden light during the night),[38] occurrences involving animals—with the exception of sounds,[39] blood and tears running in buildings and from statues,[40] and unexpected movements.[41] None of these categories are exclusively connected to the night or occur only at night.

5 Analysis

What does nocturnal occurrence of signs reveal about cultural constructions and values of the Republican night? In order to answer this question the findings above need to be connected to the other current debates that were briefly raised in the introduction above.

5.1 *The Night as a Time of Activity?*

Some consider the night as a space you can inhabit, do things in, maybe even conquer: we see "ongoing expansion of the legitimate social and symbolic uses of the night."[42] The word nocturnalization is especially used for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe because illumination (in the shape of street lights) allowed for 'proper' nocturnalization. The literature seems to see nocturnalization as a progressive development increasing through time, an ongoing pursuit to stretch the boundaries of how we can be active and inhabit the night.[43] This implies that there would be little or no nocturnalization in antiquity.

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37 D.H. 5.46.1–3; Liv. 22.1.8; Liv. 27.4.12; Obs. 20 (also: light in the sky); Obs. 38; Obs. 52; Obs. 57.

38 Liv. 28.11.4; Liv. 28.11.6; Liv. 29.14.3; Liv. 32.29.2; Liv. 42.20.1–4; Obs. 12; Obs. 12; Obs. 14; Obs. 14; Obs. 15; Obs. 20 (also: light/fire); Obs. 27; Obs. 29; Posidon. 199 = Plu. *Mar.* 17.4; Obs. 44; Cic. *Catil.* 3.18; Cic. *Div.* 1.18; Obs. 70.

39 Opp. *hist.* F1 = Gel. 6.1.1–5 *FRHist* 40 F1 (= *HRR* I F2); Opp. F2 = Gel. 6.1.6 *FRHist* 40 F2 (= *HRR* I F3); Liv. 27.37.3; Cic. *Div.* 1.79.

40 Liv. 27.4.14; Liv. 43.13.4; Liv. 45.16.5/Obs. 11.

41 Obs. 13; Obs. 52; Obs. 65a; Obs. 67.

42 Koslofsky 2011, 1.

43 As illustrated by the famous article about ongoing expansion of night as a space: Melbin 1978, 3–22; but also more recently in a study of 'heroic sleeplessness' and the effects of electric lighting on labor: Derickson 2014, 1–26; Schivelbusch 1988. A related term is 'colonization of the night,' which deals with power relations as expressed (mostly by authorities) by their control of darkness and light: see again Melbin 1978, 3–22 and Melbin 1987, but also more recently Wishnitzer, 2014, 513–531.

While the sources show that signs very often occurred during the day, there is a significant number of occurrences that explicitly occurred during the night—and the number would certainly go up if all dreams and astronomical signs had been included. The sources still show—even when the criteria about which sources to include have been very strict—that plenty of divinatory signs were observed during night. Unless this was in a dream, it was necessary to be awake to see the sign. Many sources report signs, suggesting that the night was a time of activities—perhaps facilitated by segmented sleep patterns. The occurrence of nocturnal signs shows that gods are also envisaged to be active at night because they are the ones thought to provide signs. The night was, then, inhabited in the first century BCE: the existence of the corpus of sources in which we see nocturnal occurrences of signs must lead to a different use of, and provide nuance to, an eighteenth-century watershed of nocturnalization.

5.2 *Nocturnal Literacy?*

The concept of 'nocturnal literacy' has been used to argue that people used to have a 'nocturnal aptitude' for the night and could 'read the night.' This is in contrast to our lack of nocturnal literacy caused by the idea that we control the night by means of light and activity (nocturnalization). This control supposedly erased our understanding of the night; the varieties of its darkness; and our imagination related to it. This also results in a negative understanding of darkness and the night as a threatening environment.[44] The above is too simplified to be of interest to the historian. However, in the context of ancient divination, the term 'nocturnal literacy' may be redefined. When knowledge of the sensory characteristics of the night is available, any special circumstances (such as perceived signs from the supernatural) may be observed. If this knowledge is lacking, it is much harder to discern a nocturnal divinatory sign. If divination is 'reading the signs,' then there was certainly such a thing as 'nocturnal literacy' in the first century BCE.

5.3 *The Senses*

Perceiving divinatory signs is something that we do through the senses—and mainly through sight during the day.[45] Darkness was generally thought of as

44 Summers-Bremner 2008, 8–9; on 'nyctophobia': Edensor 2015, 422–438.

45 The importance of multi-sensory approach to understand divination is emphasized in Peek and Van Beek 2011, 227. They do this in the context of the visual presence of divinatory objects, but it may be applied to darkness as well.

the essential quality of the night: it was central in the perception of what night was (even if moon and stars could, in practice, be a good source of light).[46] Livy seems to emphasize the silence of the night, also emphasizing sound—or absence of sound—as a second essential quality.[47] The sources suggest, however, that—as during the daytime—sight was the most important way to discern a sign.[48] Every category encountered above, with the exception of the small category of sounds, revolved around visual signs (I include dreams as visual signs). If the implicitly nocturnal signs had been included, many more astronomical phenomena and dreams would have to be taken into account—tipping the balance even more towards sight as the central sense used in nocturnal divination. Many of the signs perceived through sight revolve around unexpected light (in many guises) in the sky or lights and fires on earth, which must have been very visible in a dark environment. Light was an inversion of normality when the night was thought of as, essentially, dark—and was thus a very suitable way for a sign to occur.

5.4 *A Negative Time?*

"[A]n activity conducted during the night was treated as something of a marked behaviour."[49] In the context of religion the night is often depicted as a time of fear and illegitimacy. Cicero uses the notion of nighttime sacrifices to attack someone;[50] there is the Bona Dea gone wrong; the Bacchanalia; and *defixiones* which were supposedly deposited at night.[51] There were other religious prac-

46 On effects of darkness and light at night in a modern context see Bille and Flohr Sørensen 2007.

47 See three of the citations from Livy as used in the present study: Liv. 5.32.6 (391 BCE, *RVW* 58); Liv. 2.7.2 (509 BCE, *RVW* 29); Liv. 10.40.2 (293 BCE, *RVW* 75). In the latter case the night is not described as silent, but the way Papirius rises—still, this adds to ideas of quiet night. Cf. Oakley 2005, 8.23.15.

48 The literature on seeing in relation to darkness is limited, but see on the connection between darkness and death; and the idea that seeing and being seen is pivotal to being alive: Squire 2016, 10; Turner 2016, 143–160.

49 Ker 2004, 216; in the context of theft and criminal actions in antiquity see Stanley 2002, 468–486; Africa 1971, 5–9; on the depiction of rape as nocturnal in Terence: Paraskeviotis 2013, 47–59 and in a more general sense Brands, Schwanen and Van Aalst 2015, 439–455; in a biological sense Li et al., 2015, 46–57. See further Joosse's chapter in this volume on different markers in Plato.

50 Santangelo 2013, 40: "[…] when Cicero depicts the 'nighttime sacrifices' (*nocturna sacrificia*) that Sassia allegedly performs to further her horrible crimes, he accuses her of indulging in a *contaminata superstitio* which is in open breach of rightful and licit cultic practice." However, consider Corbeill 2010, 81–102.

51 Carlà-Uhink 2018, 334–342.

tices with took place at night—sacrifices especially: they were "generally characterized by a high sense of liminality […] and of subversion of the 'normal' order."[52]

The divinatory sources lead to nuance of the statements above, because we do not see a particular tendency for secrecy, illegitimacy, or subversion. Before we turn to the sources it should, however, be emphasized that most of the signs occurring at night are *prodigia* which were sanctioned as being signs from the supernatural by the Senate—perhaps this has an effect on our findings. At the same time we do not see instances where the night was a reason not to accept the sign as such. Even when a nocturnal sign is rejected by the Senate, the discussion states that it is not because it was at night, but for other reasons. In the following example, Livy relates the rejection of a voice heard at night as being a divinatory sign to the humble descent of the person who saw it, and not to its nocturnal occurrence (Liv. 5.32.6–7, trans. Foster):[53]

> During the same year, Marcus Caedicius, a plebeian, announced to the tribunes that in the New Street, where the chapel now stands, above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of the night a voice louder than that of a human being, which ordered the magistrates to be told, that the Gauls were approaching. This, as is usual, was disregarded, on account of the humble station of the author, and also because the nation was a remote one, and therefore the less known. And not only were the warnings of the gods disregarded, fate now impending; but further, the only human aid which was left them, Marcus Furius, they drove away from the city.
>
> *Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare. id, ut fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita ingruente fato spreta, sed humanam quoque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere.*

The sources indicate that signs spotted during the night were taken as seriously as when they occurred during the day, perhaps with the exception of

52 Carlà-Uhink 2018, 334.

53 Ed. Weissenborn. 391 BCE, *RVW* 58. Cf. Levene 1993, 192, who notes that only Livy gives this reason for the ignoring of the sign. Although it had been rejected and is, as such, only *a potential* divinatory sign, I still include it among the nocturnal signs here.

dreams. Although very important to individual decision-making (also by senior magistrates) these were generally evaluated as 'fringe divination' that was not deemed suitable for public purposes.[54]

There is only one possible 'reversal' of normal practice (Liv. 10.40.2–6, trans. Foster):[55]

> After receiving the reply from his colleague, Papirius rose quietly in the third watch of the night and sent a *pullarius* to observe the omens. There was not a man, whatever his rank or condition, in the camp who was not seized by the passion for battle, the highest and lowest alike were eagerly looking forward to it; the general was watching the excited looks of the men, the men were looking at their general, the universal excitement extended even to those who were engaged in observing the sacred birds. The chickens refused to eat, but the *pullarius* ventured to misrepresent matters, and reported to the consul that they had eaten so greedily that the corn dropped from their mouths on to the ground. The consul, delighted at the news, gave out that the omens could not have been more favourable; they were going to engage the enemy under the guidance and blessing of heaven. He then gave the signal for battle.
>
> *Tertia vigilia noctis, iam relatis litteris a collega, Papirius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspicium mittit. Nullum erat genus hominum in castris intactum cupiditate pugnae, summi infimique aeque intenti erant; dux militum, miles ducis ardorem spectabat. Is ardor omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intererant pervenit; nam cum pulli non pascerentur, pullarius auspicium mentiri ausus tripudium solistimum consuli nuntiavit. Consul laetus auspicium egregium esse et deis auctoribus rem gesturos pronuntiat signumque pugnae proponit.*

The *pullarius* misrepresents the sign and it is emphatically stated in the source that this takes place at night, amplifying the transgression and the 'wrongness' of the situation. However, as this is the only true inversion or negative attestation of a divinatory sign occurring at night, it seems reasonable to conclude that nocturnal signs were not considered particularly negative *because* they occurred at night.

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54 Santangelo 2013, 70–72.

55 Ed. Weissenborn. 293 BCE, *RVW* 75. Note that the *pullarius* takes the blame for this and that the Romans do win the battle. Cf. Levene 1993, 237–239.

Another issue to be considered is the question whether there are particularly gruesome or horrific nocturnal signs, more so than during the day. There are indeed terrible signs occurring at night, such as death, damage to temples, and statues of gods shedding tears. It seems that nocturnal signs were perceived as striking. However, many signs during the day were, too. The sources show no clear difference between night and day.

On the whole, nocturnal divination is sometimes evaluated ambiguously but is not in any way discussed as especially negative, frightening, or illegitimate in the first-century sources, and this does not contribute to the idea of 'reversal' of normal practice at night, nor to the night as a subversive or dangerous phase or time. Although we do know this theme from other ancient sources, the divinatory signs do nothing to strengthen it.

6 Towards the Study of the Roman Night

One of the contributions this inquiry aimed for was to problematize a methodological issue: the study of the night should proceed with caution where the sources are concerned. Are the sources selected on the basis of an explicit connection to the night or is it enough if they are connected to the night on the basis of cultural assumptions? Here, the working solution has been to select a core group of sources that are explicitly connected to the night and to err on the side of caution—future research may opt to use the second, bigger, group of sources as well to provide contrast to, or to supplement, the core sources.

What does the above show us about first-century BCE ideas about the Roman night? It can be suggested that the Roman first-century BCE night, seen from a divinatory perspective as far as we are speaking about occurrences of signs, is not a particularly subversive phase. Instead, the divinatory sources convey that the night was a canvas to be read and experienced with the senses and that a more advanced notion of nocturnalization is visible than has sometimes been assumed. The night was a time of activity.

The divinatory sources suggest that the night should be seen as an extension of the day, not as an inversion. The idea that ancient night and day were seen to be in stark contrast to one another—in contrast to experiences from industrial societies where boundaries are blurred—is not borne out. Although the above is only one specific case study into nocturnal divinatory signs, it suggests that the night in antiquity seems to have simply been a dark phase in a diurnal cycle. This leads to the notion that day and night should be studied together. The night should always be seen in the context of—and not only in opposi-

tion to—the day, and vice versa. This can offer a holistic way of researching the ancient daily cycle.

Abbreviations

FRHist Cornell, T., *The Fragments of the Roman Historians* (Oxford 2013).
HRR Peter, H., *Historicum Romanorum Reliquae* vols. 2 (Leipzig 1906).
RVW Engels, D. *Das römische Vorzeichenwesen (753–27 v.Chr.): Quellen, Terminologie, Kommentar, historische Entwicklung* (Stuttgart 2007).

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CHAPTER 13

Through the Eyes of the Night: Ecphrasis of Nocturnal Ambush Scenes in Roman Epic and Historiography

Selina Weissmantel

1 Introduction

"It often seems to me that the night is much more alive and richly coloured than the day."[1] Vincent van Gogh strongly believed that the night is characterized by its vividness and its blaze of colors. But how can the night, the time of sleep and quiet, be vivid? How can the night, the time of darkness and blackness, be colorful? Today, we can easily provide answers to these questions since we are part of a generation which is used to cities that never sleep, as well as working, traveling, and even amusing oneself at night. In short, we are used to a variety of artificial lights illuminating the darkness. The night nowadays can even be regarded as "the medium of all the new visibilities."[2]

But what about documents of a former time that describe fictional works of art depicting a night scene, or that narrate scenes taking place at night? Especially in ancient times which are characterized by the darkness of the night, the vivid depiction of the night seems to be paradoxical at first. In this study, I consider why and how some of the most energetic scenes in Latin literature occur at night, when things cannot be clearly seen. We will thus focus on the role of the night, particularly its vivid depiction, i.e., *enargeia*, within ecphrasis in Latin literature.

The modern definition of ecphrasis is difficult. Difficult in so far as a single and universal definition of the term does not seem to exist (for a treatment of the difficulty to define *ecphrasis* see Krieger 1995 and Fowler 1991). Instead, one can find definitions in three research fields that only partly cross paths: oratory, history of art, and literary studies.[3] Modern critical discourse, for instance, offers the definition of ecphrasis as a "text or textual fragment that engages

1 Van Gogh 1888.
2 Friese 2011, 25.
3 See Klarer 2001, 4.

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with the visual arts."[4] The ancient meaning[5] of the term, which can be found in Theon's *Progymnasmata*, handbooks on oratory from the first century CE, sees ecphrasis as "a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes."[6] The definitions of ecphrasis therefore vary from the understanding of ecphrasis as a vivid depiction to the specific description of artifacts. In this study, I understand ecphrasis as both: a literary description of a work of art in epic and a vivid narrative scene in historiography.

The *Progymnasmata* offer an elementary overview of the term ecphrasis and how the phenomenon was taught in rhetoric schools. The reason why it was taught and the importance of the phenomenon, as well as its effect on the audience, are not named.[7] Therefore, it is worth having a look at Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, in particular at the concept of *enargeia*, a term that is closely related to the concept of ecphrasis. Quintilian defines *enargeia* as a vital competence for a rhetorician because the audience's emotions will be as if they were experiencing the subject matter directly (cf. *Inst.* 6.2.32: *adfectus non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur*). As a result, one needs to talk clearly and in such a way that the things are put before the audience's eyes (cf. 8.3.62: *loquimur clare atque ut cerni videantur* [...] *oculis mentis ostendi*).[8] But how can a text which describes a fictional work of art or a series of events taking place in the darkness be narrated in such a vivid way that it brings the sensations before the audience's eyes?[9] Given seemingly paradoxical examples of events happening in the dark, it will be useful to investigate the creation of visualization and vividness through nocturnal ecphrasis, which has not been studied in depth.[10]

4 Webb 2009, 1.

5 On the ancient meaning of *ecphrasis* see Webb 2009 and Otto 2009.

6 Webb 2009, 14.

7 See Webb 2009, 87.

8 For a detailed analysis of Quintilian's definition of oratorical clarity and poetic obscurity see Dozier 2013.

9 For the most recent research on *enargeia* that can lead to the readers' immersion in a virtual world see Allan, De Jong, and De Jonge 2017. For a new enactive approach which is also compatible with the ancient definition of *enargeia* see Grethlein and Huitink 2017. For *enargeia* within historiography see Walker 1993.

10 Osmun's early article 'Night Scenes in the *Aeneid*' (1962) merely lists the references to the word 'night' itself and its annexation of adjectives, and unfortunately dismisses a contextualized analysis of these references. Casali (2018) on the other hand lists important night scenes in the *Aeneid* and estimates that about twenty percent of the *Aeneid* consists of nocturnal actions, to demonstrate the high number of night scenes in Roman epic (242–247).

Even though the night was considered as a time of quietness and rest due to its lack of light, there are various descriptions of night fighting which show that the night was also a strategic setting for battles. It is noteworthy that many historians attribute a negative meaning and disorder to fights happening at night, whereas a fight during daylight is considered as somewhat positive and organized.[11] It is, however, undeniable that it is in the eye of the beholder if a nightly attack is seen as morally problematic.[12] According to Wolkenhauer, culturally important events were happening rather during the day than at night. The term *nox intempesta* is connected to this meaning by pointing out that the night is accompanied by the negation of light, order, and civilization as well as temporality. The night can be regarded as the time during which most dreadful offenses can occur.[13]

Two versions of the same event, the Gauls' nocturnal assault on the Roman Capitol, one of them integrated into the famous description of Aeneas' shield in Virgil's *Aeneid* 8.652–662, the other contained in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* 5.39–47, provide us with an opportunity to observe how these two authors negotiated the possibilities of *enargeia* and ecphrasis in night scenes. The method used for the comparative reading consists of a linguistic, stylistic, and narratological analysis considering the texts' cultural background and their reception. Moreover, various connotations of night within these texts are analyzed by means of lexical fields.

2 The Night as the Time of Cover

The description of Aeneas' shield in book 8 of Virgil's *Aeneid* is the longest ecphrasis in terms of works of art within his whole work.[14] It is, to start with, self-contradictory that the shield is said to possess 'an un-tellable pattern' (*clipei non enarrabile textum, A.* 8.625), since its depictions and the accompanying actions are extensively described some lines later. The perspective presented is not evident. Aeneas, who has just received this weapon from his mother Venus, looks at it as an ignorant internal recipient[15] (cf. 8.730: *miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*). The second internal recipient is the divine smith Vul-

11 See Günther 2014, 38 and 49.
12 For an examination of the moral problematization of nightly ambushes see Casali 2018.
13 See Wolkenhauer 2015, 84–88.
14 For a valuable analysis of ecphrasis in the *Aeneid* see Putnam 1998 and Barchiesi 1997.
15 For the three different types of focalization see Genette 1998, 134 ff. For the different focalizers of the shield's description see Harrison 2001, 89.

can, who manufactured the shield and who is aware of the forthcoming events depicted on it (cf. 8.627: *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi*). Finally, we, the readers of the text, can be regarded as external recipients being able to view the pictures on the shield through Aeneas' eyes and hear what the narrator tells us about the Gauls' nocturnal assault. Thus, the perspectives of the internal and external recipients are not at all of the same kind and therefore need to be differentiated (Verg. *A*. 8.652–662):[16]

> On top, there stood Manlius, the guard of the Tarpeian citadel,
> in front of the temple holding the high Capitol,
> and the house of Romulus bristled with fresh thatch.
> And here, a silver goose fluttered around the gold-plated portico singing that the Gauls were standing at the door threshold;
> the Gauls appeared through thorn bushes and were heading for the citadel,
> protected by the darkness and the gift of the opaque night.
> They have golden hair and golden clothing, they are glittering through their striped military coats; furthermore, their milk-white necks
> are entangled by golden jewelry, each man brandishes two Alpine javelins
> in his hand, their bodies are protected by long shields.

> *in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis*
> *stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat,*
> *Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.*
> *atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser*
> *porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;*
> *Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant*
> *defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.*
> *aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,*
> *virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla*
> *auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant*
> *gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.*

Not only on top of the shield but also on top of the citadel, the recipients see Manlius, the guard of the fortress, standing there and holding the Capitol. According to recent research, one would expect a narration of "simple

16 The following translation of the scene is my own.

bodily movements"[17] which allow the external recipient to imagine the narrated world. Although the two verbs *stabat* and *tenebat* (653) stand out with their image of stillness, the recipient could see, on the one hand, a static and motionless Manlius engraved on the shield that Aeneas is looking at, and on the other hand, a scene in which Manlius is present and actively defends the fortress, since the aspect of defense can also be connoted with *tenebat*.[18] Simultaneously, the setting is being established for the external recipient, because Manlius' actions are linked to certain places. One can see him standing in front of the temple defending the Capitol. An individual description of the setting is not needed,[19] because it directs the recipients' eyes towards Manlius and the loci he is protecting. This is also emphasized by the pictorial representation of the line, since the loci, i.e., *templo* and *Capitolia celsa*, are encircled by the verbs mentioned above that refer to Manlius' actions. Even though the external recipients might not yet know that all of this is happening at nighttime, Aeneas, our internal recipient, might see the bright color of the straw of the thatched roof of Romulus' cabin contrasting with the dark surroundings.

But Manlius is not the only one guarding the Capitol. And here, on the shield but also at the Capitol, a silver goose is flattering in the gold-plated portico and announces that the enemy is standing at the doorstep. The question why the goose is depicted as being silver and not white can be answered with several plausible explanations. *Argenteus* (655) definitely forms a wonderful alliteration with *anser*. The color silver furthermore matches the golden portico, which anachronistically anticipates Augustan Rome.[20] One might also argue that silver could simply have been the best material with which to depict the goose on the shield. However, the color white will be used in a later line to depict the Gauls' necks on the shield (660).[21] What is more important is that both color designations illustrate, for the first time, that the internal recipient is inspecting an artwork.[22] Apart from that, the usage of these glittering colors emphasizes that the narrator apparently wants us, the external recipient, to focus on the goose flying through the portico which is also accentuated by the pictorial representation in these lines. One reason for this supremacy could be the important role of the goose as a warning signal. Technically, we are not yet

17 Grethlein and Huitink 2016, 72.

18 See Glare 1968, s.v. *teneo*, p. 1919.

19 See Grethlein and Huitink 2016, 73.

20 Woodman 2012 even claims that Virgil tried to give his alternative versions a more Augustan touch.

21 Servius, in fact, mentions that a silver model of a goose actually stood on the Capitol to remind of and honor the real geese. See Gransden 1976, 171 *ad* 8.655.

22 See Putnam 1998, 130.

aware that the rest of the scene literally remains in the dark. Nonetheless, the silver goose and the golden columned hall protrude from the rest of the scene. Relating to this are the two ordinary verbs *canebat* and *volitans* expressing the actions of the goose (655–656). Whereas the verbs of the first lines underline the lack of motion and therefore fit the material composition of a shield quite well, these two verbs emphasize the dynamic nature of the scene. The effect is that the external recipient first sees a goose made of silver on a shield and subsequently sees and hears a flying and quacking goose that announces the arrival of the Gauls before his or her own eyes. Surely by now, if not before, the external recipients will have immersed themselves in the narrated world and will see everything clearly.

But then: pitch-black night. It is only now that one finds out that the Gauls' ambush is taking place at night. The Gauls are sheltered by darkness (*defensi tenebris*) and covered by the gift of the opaque night (*dono noctis opacae*, 658). In comparison to other night scenes in the *Aeneid*, the night is explicitly mentioned[23] and its darkness is emphasized twice with the help of *tenebris* and *opacae*. This is not always the case with night scenes in the *Aeneid*. In the episode of Nisus and Euryalus for instance, it is in fact the faintly lit night (*sublustri noctis in umbra*, 9.373) that reflects the rays in Euryalus' helmet and reveals his presence.[24] In contrast, the night here is described as the time in which an ambush can be covertly undertaken and obfuscated. According to Friese, humans both then and now have taken advantage of the night as a cover or coat to obscure their actions.[25] But it seems like the narrator wants to achieve the opposite, namely unveiling what happened during that particular night. Dozier expresses this as follows: "Vision depends on light, and the orator's task is to provide his audience with the light to see things as he intends them to."[26] This is why the narrator, like a modern film director, directs our gaze to the objects that need to be seen by putting them into the spotlight.

The objects of interest are the Gauls and their appearance at night. When color is bestowed upon them, they are uncovered and stand out from their tenebrous surrounding. Noteworthy is the shift from past tense to historical present (660) correlating with the exposure of the Gauls and thus bringing

23 One counterexample where the night is not directly mentioned is the ecphrasis of the moldings at Juno's temple. There, Rhesus' camp is devastated by Tydeus at the time of the first sleep (*primo … somno* Verg. *A.* 1.470).

24 For a comparison of this scene with the Homeric model dealing with the exchange of armament see Casali 2018, 210–215.

25 See Friese 2011, 13.

26 Dozier 2013, 144.

them to light. By shifting the time to the present tense, Virgil seems to make use of a method called *metastasis* which historians often used to "give a measure of immediacy to the action."[27] Particularly the color gold plays an important role and contrasts with the dark night. Golden hair and golden clothing are the Gauls' features. The significance of this contrast-creating color is emphasized by the parallel sentence structure (*aurea caesaries … aurea vestis*, 659). Additionally, the Gauls glitter due to their striped military coats. The hyperbaton of *virgatis* and *sagulis* (660) visualizes the reach of the glow in different directions. The Gauls' milk-white necks embraced by gold jewelry are also highlighted (660–661). The last visual detail mentioned is created when the Gauls brandish their spears. For the readers, light is shed on the Gauls by this movement. On an internal level, this proves Vulcan's craft to distinguish white, gold and dark colors on the shield. The frequent usage of the color gold and the words expressing a glow, however, lead to the question why the Gauls are highlighted in an almost blinding way. The only things the recipients can now see are the glittering Gauls. Consequently, for us, they are not protected by the murky night at all. Maybe they were not hidden for the Romans either. Virgil's aim could have been to show how perfectly clear the Gauls' nocturnal ambush was. For this reason, one needs to look at the way the ambush is described in more detail.

The attempt to conquer the citadel is expressed by *tenebant* (657), which at first glance correlates with the former *tenebat* (653). However, it definitely shows the imbalance of the number of people: many Gauls versus Manlius. Not every scholar thinks that *tenebant* conveys the message that the Gauls were reaching and trying to capture the Capitol. Some scholars translate and interpret this particular verb as if the Gauls have successfully seized the citadel. Therefore, it is frequently assumed that Virgil refers to an alternative version of the story in which the Gauls managed to conquer the Capitol.[28] If Virgil indeed hints at this alternative ending, his clear and vivid depiction of the Gauls and the resulting ineffective ambush would imply a critique of the Romans' ability to defend the Capitol against a brightly visible enemy. Virgil leaves the recipient literally in the dark about whether the Gauls successfully captured the citadel. According to Dozier, it is characteristic of poetry to obscure what is actually meant, because the audience desires this poetic obscurity.[29]

27 Walker 1993, 359.

28 See Gransden 1976, 171 *ad* 8.657. This assumption is also shared by Woodman 2012, 159. Although Eden finds the repetition of the word odd, too, he thinks that its meaning is 'were reaching' (1975, 173 *ad* 8.657).

29 See Dozier 2013, 142.

However, by means of this play of colors and reflections, the external recipient is able to envision the scene despite the supposedly obscure night. Additional acoustic details like the goose's quacking and flapping awaken the recipients' senses so that they are enabled to witness the scene. The three character-groups—Manlius, the silver goose, and the Gauls—are depicted in the way they would be perceived at night. In opposition to the goose and the Gauls, Manlius, by being static, remains in the dark. The vividness of night scenes, which seems to be paradoxical at first, is made tangible for the recipients by providing the objects of interest with color and a sense of motion and thereby putting them into the spotlight.

3 Night as the Time of Mutual Fear of a Nocturnal Ambush

The occupation of Rome by the Gauls is also told by Livy in *Ab urbe condita* 5, and we will presently consider how far he makes use of this event to show his competence regarding *enargeia*, as well as what role is played by night within these scenes. In both past and recent research, chapter 47, in which the narrator describes the actual attempt of the Gauls' nocturnal ambush, has tended to be examined in isolation.[30] However, one needs to take the previous chapters into account, since there we can detect several nocturnal leitmotifs.

After having defeated the Romans at the Allia, the Gauls reach Rome shortly before sunset, the transition from day to night (*haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt*, Liv. 5.39.2). A nocturnal ambush scene seems highly likely. But quite the contrary happens: the narrator[31] describes the Gauls as being afraid of the night and the unknown area of the city (*noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis*, 39.3). The night's connotation of fear appears here for the first time in this episode.[32] Fear, however, has already played a role at the beginning of the chapter when the Gauls are consistently characterized as timid: first, they are rooted to the spot by fear; then, they fear an ambush; and finally, they collect the spoils of the slain (*et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt … deinde insidias vereri, postremo caesorum spolia legere*, 39.1).

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30 See for example Walsh 1961, 516–517 or Woodman 2012, 158 ff. Burck is an exception since he deals briefly with some of the other chapters as well but ignores the role of the night within these chapters (1964, 126 ff.).

31 For narrative structures in Livy's work see Pausch 2011.

32 The connection between night and an army that is anxious and panic-stricken has also been established by von Lehsten in this volume (176 ff.).

Subsequently, the narrator unveils the Roman perspective.[33] The Romans are in a state of anxious uncertainty until the next day (*omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram*, 39.6). To be more exact, they are stricken by public fear (*privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor*, 39.5) because of the news of the Gauls' arrival. Then, the Gauls' arrival is illustrated by means of acoustic details (*mox ululatus cantusque dissonos … audiebant*, 39.5). More explicitly, we are told that the Romans first fear an attack before sunset (*deinde sub occasum solis*), then before nightfall (*ante noctem certe invasuros*, 39.7). When this does not happen, they are panic-stricken because of the possibility of a nocturnal ambush (*tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent*, 39.7). Finally, they are taken by a constant fear of an attack at dawn (*postremo lux appropinquans … timorique perpetuo*, 39.8), which will actually occur later. The narrator mentions and heightens the Romans' individual stages of anxiety. Similarly, the Gauls' different stages of fear have been described. As a result, the Romans' fear seems to be less intense for the reader due to the knowledge of the Gauls' fear which has been described at the beginning of chapter 39. This is supported by the narrator's downplayed reference that, in the end, the Romans did not equal the people who had fled so anxiously from the Allia during that night (*nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi quae ad Alliam tam pavide fugerat civitas fuit*, 39.8). All in all, the transition from day to night and night to day, as well as the night itself, is presented as a time of mutual fear of an ambush.

In chapter 41, another motif of the night is revived: the night as the time of rest and recreation. The narrator stresses that the Gauls could recover from the exertions of the fight in the subsequent night after their victory over the Romans at the Allia (*Galli et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos*, 5.41.4). The significance of a tranquil night in which one can rest is also mentioned in connection to Romans, who after having managed to escape, watch the capture of the city from the top of the citadel. The narrator underlines that no peaceful night followed that unpeaceful day on the part of the Romans (*nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquietam insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus quod a novae semper cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret*, 5.42.6). Instead, the restlessness is emphasized twice so that the recipient sympathizes with the Romans and considers the nocturnal attacks adversely.

In chapter 44,[34] Camillus in his speech encourages some Roman citizens, who had fled into exile to Ardea, to attack the Romans. He advises them to

33 On the fact that Livy describes the arrival of the enemy first every time see Walsh 1961, 518.

34 Casali (2018) determines a similarity between chapters 43–45 in book 5 of Livy and Virgil's

attack the Gauls at nightfall (*ubi nox adpetit*, 5.44.6). This episode is of high importance since several motifs of the night are mentioned. At first sight, the night seems once more to simply be the time of an ambush. But the motif of defenselessness during the night is pointed out three times, when Camillus assumes that there will be no protection, no watch and no guards (*sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis*, 44.6). Furthermore, night is characterized as a time of disorder,[35] when people, in this case the Gauls, will be spread all over the place like wild animals (*passim ferarum ritu sternuntur*, 44.6). The reason for this, according to Camillus, will be the consumption of food and wine (*cibo vinoque repleti*, 44.6) as well as the fact that the Gauls will be in a state of deep sleep (*vinctos somno*, 44.7). These nocturnal habits, drinking, eating and sleeping, are vividly depicted to draw the readers' attention to the invasion into the private sphere[36] caused by Camillus' envisaged ambush. The night is moreover a suitable opportunity to enact violence and cruelty since Camillus summons his men to follow him into a bloodbath, not a fight (*me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam*, 44.7). Besides, he once again compares the Gauls to animals which he will hand over to be slaughtered (*velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero*, 44.7). It needs to be pointed out that up till now, Camillus is only naming the advantages and potentials for a nocturnal ambush he planned. Its realization will not take place before the next scene.

During the first silence of the night (*primo silentio noctis*, 5.45.1), the Romans carry out the ambush. Defenselessness and disorder are attributed to the Gauls' camp (*castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque*, 45.2). The cruelty of the scene is outlined by the killing and slaughtering of their nude and motionless bodies (*omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur*, 45.3). New and not part of Camillus' plan is the Romans' tremendous clamor (*cum ingenti clamore*, 45.2), which emphasizes the huge chaos and the massacre that resonates. The special aspect is not only that the narrator intentionally omits this *urbs capta*-motif during Camillus' plan but also that it contrasts with the previously mentioned silence and quietness of that night and makes the scene more vivid for the recipients.

These scenes of feared and realized nocturnal ambushes, by picturing the alternation of day and night and vice versa, create suspense and finally climax in the nocturnal ambush scene in 5.47.1–6. In the first sentence, the episode's

Nisus and Euryalus episode and thinks that it could be possible that Livy had already published book 5 which then influenced Virgil. Another explanation for the analogy could be that both writers used Ennius as a common source (see Casali 2018, 250).

35 For the motif of nocturnal disorder in the *Rhesus*, see von Lehsten in this volume (181ff.).

36 See Casali 2018, 254–255.

topic is addressed: the citadel and the Capitol of Rome are in great danger (*arx Romae Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit*, 47.1). The Gauls' attempt at invading the Capitol is narrated in one very long sentence, which provides answers to all important *wh*-questions.[37] Who? The Gauls. What? Are ascending the peak (*in summum evasere*, 47.3). When? In a night that is characterized as being faintly lit (*nocte sublustri*, 47.2), thus probably indicating moonlight. The usage of *sublustris*, which literally consists of a preposition and a noun and originally means 'under light,' is remarkable since this adjective is used by Virgil in connection to night as well, namely in the episode of Nisus and Euryalus.[38] Walsh states that Livy shows a tendency to use compound words, which one could only find in poetry, and thus suspects that Livy could have borrowed some words from Virgil or that the two could have simply had the same source.[39] However it may be, the more significant fact is that this differs from Virgil's version in which the obscurity is highlighted twice. The adjective used by Virgil works well to show the different colors and materials incorporated into the shield. In contrast to Virgil, Livy's narrator obviously does not describe an artwork and therefore uses an easy and neutral way to mention that it is nighttime without interpreting and attributing meaning to the night. He manages to visualize the night by referring to the night as being not completely dark.

Afterwards, an answer to another question is provided: In what manner are they climbing to the peak of the hill during a bright night? Apparently, they are doing it very quietly (*tanto silentio*, 47.3). On the one hand, this seems plausible, since the Gauls are planning a nocturnal ambush. On the other hand, silence during the capture of a city is untypical for the *urbs capta*-motif and how it is described by Quintilian in his *Institutio oratoria* (8.3.67–69). Typical acoustic motifs are, for example, the crashing of roofs, the noise consisting of various clamor or women's or children's wailing. But Livy's narrator skillfully describes how the Gauls do not awaken the guards and the dogs which are sensitive to nocturnal noises (*ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent*, 47.3). Although the Gauls do not cause any noise at this point, *nocturnos strepitus* is contrasted with the previously mentioned *tanto silentio*.

Then, the climax of the whole ascent is mentioned in one single sentence: the Gauls could not delude the geese (*anseres non fefellere*, 47.4). In contrast to Virgil, Livy mentions geese and not just one goose. Their chatter and the buzz

37 For a full analysis of the structure and composition see Walsh 1961, 516 ff.

38 Cf. Verg. *A*. 9.373.

39 See Walsh 1961, 522–523.

of their wings (*clangore eorum alarumque crepitu*, 47.4) are directly described and contrast with the previously mentioned silence and the noises evoked *ex negativo*. Consequently, the counter-play between clamor and silence, quietness and disquiet, is a device which visualizes the night. At this point, however, a contrast between light and dark is not unimaginable either. The implicit picture of the white color of the geese goes hand in hand with their chattering and buzzing at night. Livy's narrator also describes Manlius' deeds more actively than Virgil: he takes up the weapons (*armis arreptis*), summons his companions to grip the arms while he is walking (*ad arma ceteros ciens vadit*), pushes one Gaul off the Capitol which leads to a series of falling Gauls, and slaughters other Gauls, who are fearfully clinging to the rocks (*Gallum ... umbone ictum deturbat. cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa quibus adhaerebant manibus amplexos trucidat*, 47.4–5). Hence, the Gauls' downfall is also brought vividly before the audience's eyes.

The sentence concluding the episode alludes to the night being the time of silence and quietness once more since it is said that one pursues silence and sleep for the rest of the night—as far as this is possible in the midst of turmoil (*sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat ..., quieti datum est*, 47.6). The following narration of the episode expectedly ends with the sunrise (*luce orta*, 47.7) and later, it is mentioned that both parties, the Gauls and the Romans, vigilantly keep watch and the Romans bear the danger of that particular night in remembrance (*inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, ... et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria*, 47.11).

This chapter undoubtedly is the highlight of the Gauls' attempt to conquer Rome. This nocturnal ambush scene is one of many descriptions that are visually conceptualized and become tangible because of their vivid and detailed narration.[40] The alternation of day and night and the night itself are utilized as a medium to bring the actions before the recipients' eyes, to create suspense and dramatize the events leading to the final night in which the Gauls attack the Capitol.

4 Conclusion

As a result, in Virgil's version, the night paradoxically appears as the time of protection and cover, from the Gauls' perspective. For the external audience, the dark night of the Gauls' attack is uncovered by a blaze of bright colors and

40 For visual imagery in narratives see Feldherr 1998, 4ff.

words expressing a glow. Furthermore, words evoking an audio-visual impression of noise contribute to the visualization. By means of an ecphrasis of an artwork, the visualization of the night occurs on two levels: first, on the level of the shield that is made of different metals evoking a contrast between light and darkness; second, on the level of the scene depicted on it, which is taking place before the audience's eyes. On the level of content however, Virgil leaves us in the dark about whether the Gauls succeeded in occupying the citadel.

By comparison, the night in Livy's version is visualized through the interplay of explicitly stated clamor and silence. Contextualized during the whole episode, the transition from day to night and from night to day is utilized as a means of dramatization. Primarily, the night is characterized as the time of mutual fear of an inimical ambush. Partially antithetical motifs such as defenselessness, panic, deception, violence, and noise, on the one hand, and rescue, recovery, quietness and sleep on the other hand, are associated with the night, thus rendering the characters' emotions tangible for the audience. Livy's omniscient narrator describes everything in such a detailed way that the scenes are brought before the audience's eyes and can be regarded as an ecphrasis in its original meaning. In contrast to Virgil, Livy as a historian clearly brings to light that the Romans effectively defended the Gauls' nocturnal ambush.

Whether Virgil was really driven by envy and wrote a "sustained critique"[41] of Livy's description of the Gauls' nocturnal assault by implying an alternative version according to which the Gauls effectively conquered the Capitol, as has recently been posited by Woodman, remains to be discussed. But would it not be possible to extend Woodman's claim from the level of content to a discussion of ecphrasis itself? This would mean that the two Augustan writers were engaging in a conscious intertextual dialogue, exploring the possibilities for ecphrasis and the depiction of the night in the passages we have been considering. Virgil was describing an artwork with scenes that unfold before the recipients' inner eyes in a second stage. Livy was making his historical narrative as suspenseful and energetic as possible, so that it brings the topic vividly before the recipients' eyes.

41 Woodman 2012, 159.

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CHAPTER 14

Nocturnal Negotiations: Experiencing the Night Scenes from the *Iliad* at the House of Octavius Quartio, Pompeii II 2.2

Barbara Kellum

1 A Dinner Guest

It is late afternoon when you arrive at Pompeii in order to attend a dinner given in your honor by an ex-business rival named Octavius Quartio. In the decade since the earthquake he has been primarily investing locally and profitably, but now he has professed an interest in backing your next major shipping venture. You are somewhat skeptical but curious as well to experience what is by all accounts his substantial estate close by the amphitheater. Your first glimpse of it is the *only* one most Pompeians get who, when walking to or from the amphitheater, can peek at the terraced gardens, water channels, and sculpture through the back gate (Figure 14.1). You also notice that the perimeter wall of the residence is decorated with frescoes of gladiatorial combats. (There is no trace of them today but they were photographed when the house was excavated in the early twentieth century.)[1] They prompt you to wonder if a troop of gladiators is among Octavius Quartio's successful local investments, a supposition underscored when you, unlike most Pompeians, get to enter the house and appreciate the resident's view of that powerful visual axis. It culminates in the entry to the triclinium where you are about to dine. There, flanking the entry on the left, is the image of Orpheus charming the animals with its docile lion to the right of Orpheus and, down the upper terrace, sculptures of beast combats as well as a hunt scene with exotic animals, much like those which grace the parapet wall of Pompeii's amphitheater.[2] To you it seems apparent that your host may well have more than a passing interest in the town's entertainment industry.

1 Della Corte 1939, 313; Jacobelli 2003, 76; De Vos 1991, 108.

2 De Vos 1991, 83 (Orpheus); best pictures of the site to be found on Bob and Jackie Dunn's *Pompeii in Pictures* website: https://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R2/2%2002%2002%20p7.htm#_Room_%E2%80%9Ci%E2%80%9D,_upper.

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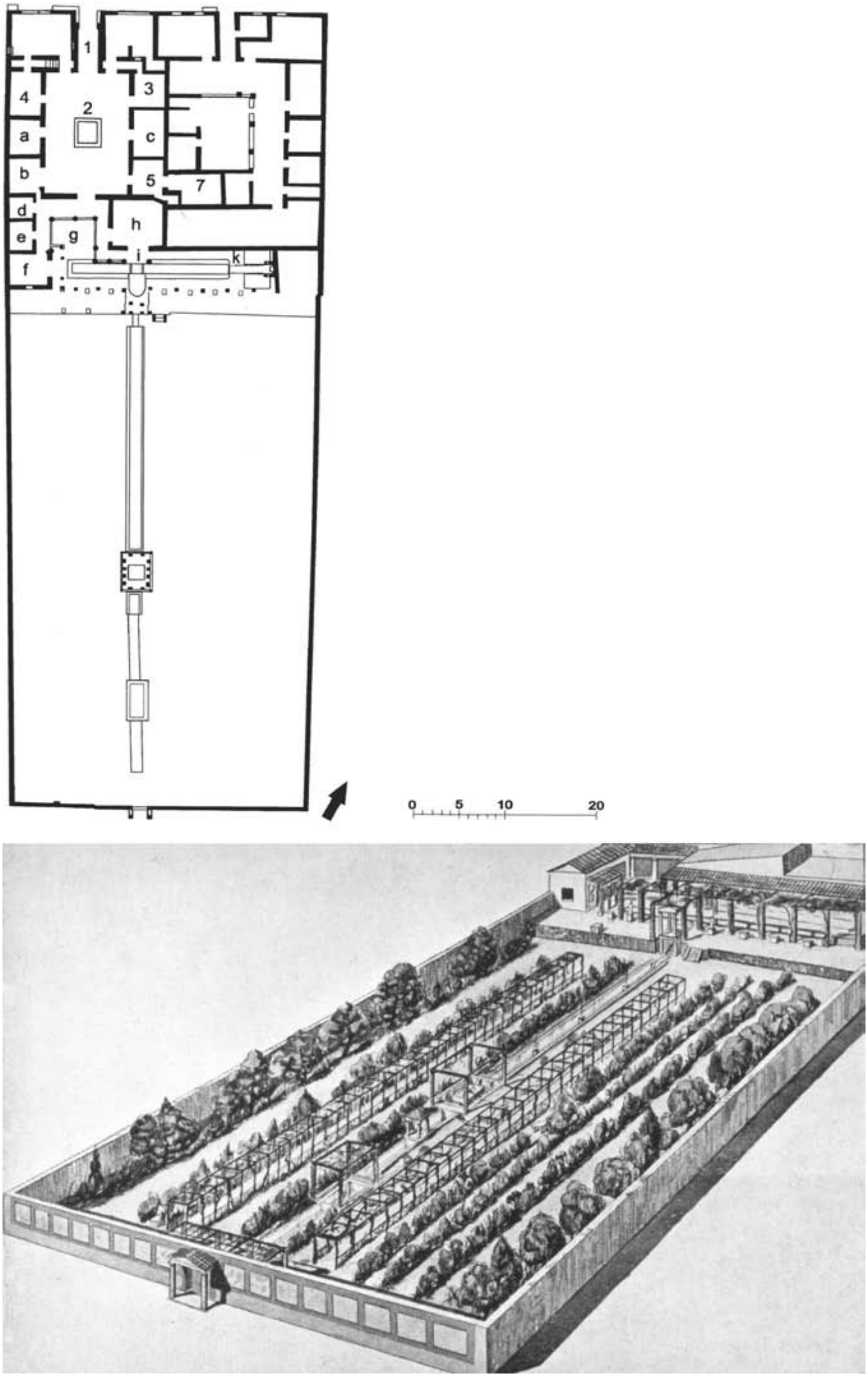

FIGURE 14.1 Plan and reconstruction of House of Octavius Quartio, Pompeii II 2

FIGURE 14.2 House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h) southeast corner. Upper register (left to right): seated Laomedon (portion of horses of Tros scene); Hercules kills Laomedon; marriage of Hesione and Telamon; Hercules crowns boy Priam. Lower register: portion of funerary games of Patroclus; Achilles and Priam (ransom of body of Hector); Priam and herald Idaeus; Achilles and Phoenix; embassy to Achilles' tent

Nothing quite prepares you, however, for your entry into the grand triclinium with its two superimposed friezes which encircle the room (Figure 14.2).[3] The larger upper frieze features exploits of Hercules while the smaller one presents scenes from the *Iliad*. The Hercules frieze is painted in bright colors while by contrast that of the *Iliad* includes several scenes painted on a black ground. As you enter, your eye is immediately drawn to the unusual *Iliad* night frescoes in the southeast corner which you pause to look at in some detail. The first scene depicts the watering of two exquisitely painted horses—perhaps, given what follows, Achilles' own immortal pair Xanthus and Balius. Then, an embassy of three armed men whom you quickly realize must be Phoenix, Odysseus, and Telamonian Ajax seeking out the seated figure who rounds the corner to the

3 Spinazzola 1953, 388–391; D 1991, 84–98; *Pompeii in Pictures*: https://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R2/2%2002%2002%20p6.htm#_Room_%E2%80%9Ch%E2%80%9D,_triclinium.

east wall: the brooding Achilles (Figure 14.3).[4] Next, under the gossamer veil of a tent, the aged Phoenix, Achilles' boyhood tutor and friend, kneels before the hero to beg him to return to battle, a plea Achilles rejects.[5] The scene to the left is an initially puzzling one—two travelers seated before what appears to be a rock outcropping. A glance at the scene which follows, however, makes it clear that this must be the elderly Priam and his herald Idaeus who, in their perilous journey to ransom the body of Hector, pause at the tomb of Ilus just at the time 'darkness had descended on the land.'[6] The next scene is hinted at by the two horses at the far left of this image but is instantly recognizable as soon as you lay eyes on it. As the old black-and-white indicates, this was Priam on his knees before Achilles, begging for him to accept the treasure which is being unloaded in exchange for the body of his son Hector (Figure 14.4).[7] This is a scene which had, since the Augustan era, become iconic, appearing in every medium across the empire and often closely identified with the first emperor's own fabled clemency.[8] It is surely no coincidence, you think to yourself, that the scene above it is an infuriated Hercules raising his club to strike down Laomedon, king of Troy, as that only emphasizes the more the quiet poignance of this meeting between ancient Priam and youthful Achilles. In the large Hercules frieze you see a nod to a series of paintings in Rome's Porticus of Octavia which begins with the hero's rescue of Hesione from a sea-monster and culminates in his investiture of the boy Priam as king.[9] In this context, the allusion allows for the juxtaposition of Priam at the beginning of his life and also near its mournful end (cf. Figures 14.2 and 14.3).

You are contemplating such themes when a long-haired slave boy comes to escort you to your place as guest of honor. With Priam and Achilles still on your mind you notice en route that the north wall behind the triclinium (sadly now largely destroyed) featured the lost loves of both Achilles and Priam: Patroclus in the armor and chariot of Achilles about to meet his demise, and Priam's son Hector's already dead body being dragged around the walls of Troy behind Achilles' chariot.[10] A glance to the west wall as you take up your reclining position reveals scenes of Hercules, Nessus, and Deianira and Hercules on

4 Spinazzola 1953, 978–979. For ecphrasis of nocturnal scenes in Roman epic see Weissmantel's chapter in this volume.

5 Hom. *Il.* 9.423–424; Spinazzola 1953, 982–984.

6 Hom. *Il.* 24.349–351; Spinazzola 1953, 1005–1006.

7 Hom. *Il.* 24.476–477; Spinazzola 1953, 1002–1005.

8 Compare Hoby skyphos of Achilles and Priam, signed by artist Cheirisophos and made for C. Silius, governor of Germania Superior, 14–21 CE, Copenhagen, National Museum.

9 Plin. *Nat.* 35.114; 35.139.

10 Hom. *Il.* 16.684–685, 22.395–396; Spinazzola 1953, 991–994 (Patroclus), 995–997 (Hector).

FIGURE 14.3 House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h) close-up south wall at southeast corner. Upper register: Hercules crowns boy Priam. Lower register (right to left): watering of two horses (Xanthus and Badius/Balius?); night embassy (Phoenix, Odysseus, and Telamonian Ajax seek Achilles brooding in his tent)

FIGURE 14.4 House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h) east wall. Detail of Lower register (right to left): Achilles brooding; Achilles and Phoenix; Priam and herald Idaeus; Achilles and Priam (ransom of body of Hector)

his funeral pyre. Although they initially appear anomalous, you will have occasion to rethink this later in the evening.

As night falls, dinner conversation ranges widely from loves and losses, to business triumphs and disasters, from the most savvy circus bet you ever made to the sudden death of a gladiatorial favorite which served as a reminder that everyone's days are numbered and that, just as in the marketplace, when Zeus takes out his golden scales and weighs the *kêres* of Achilles and Hector, it is Hector's pan which descends and marks his death.[11] Slowly the room grows darker and what illumination there is comes from the lamps which have been lit. In the dimness you can no longer see the wall paintings across the room in any detail but those first two scenes of the nocturnal meetings between Phoenix and Achilles and Priam and Achilles remain vivid in your mind's eye (cf. Figure 14.4). One negotiation between a man who had been a second father to Achilles fails, while the other succeeds as, seemingly against all the odds, Priam whose son Hector had killed Achilles' beloved Patroclus is able to ransom the body of his son. The two men weep for their losses, break their fast and eat together, and agree on a plan to suspend the fighting to allow for Hector's funeral. Suddenly it strikes you that these nocturnal negotiation scenes from the *Iliad* are actually the key which unlocks the multiple relationships between the two friezes and that all the scenes revolve around business transactions both successful and unsuccessful.

Case in point: in return for saving Laomedon's daughter Hesione from the sea-monster, Hercules was supposed to receive the legendary horses of Tros gifted to the king of Troy by Zeus in compensation for Tros' beautiful son Ganymede. Now you see that the next scene in which the enthroned Laomedon reneges on the deal is very much a transaction gone wrong, as the horses once promised to the hero peep their heads over a wall in the background (Figure 14.5).[12] This breach in business etiquette reaps its own consequences

11 Hom. *Il.* 22.209–213.

12 Hom. *Il.* 5.649–651; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9; on horses of Tros see also Hom. *Il.* 20.221–222.

FIGURE 14.5 House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h) east wall. Upper register (left to right): Hercules and Telamon claim horses of Tros from king Laomedon; Hercules kills Laomedon; marriage of Hesione and Telamon. Lower register: portion of funerary games of Patroclus; Achilles and Priam (ransom of body of Hector); Priam and herald Idaeus; Achilles and Phoenix; Achilles brooding

as Hercules and Telamon take Troy and kill Laomedon, who tries to flee still clutching his scepter (Figure 14.5). Another type of negotiation is represented by Hercules presenting Hesione to Telamon as his spoils, a union here represented in the traditional guise of marriage with the *dextrarum iunctio* gesture of marital concord (Figure 14.5). As Hesione's golden veil suggests, however, this transaction is twofold as Hercules allows her to spare one of the enslaved prisoners. Hesione chooses her youngest brother Podarces for whom she exchanges her golden veil as the price paid for him. Podarces then becomes 'Priam,' or sometimes 'the ransomed one' (from πρίαμαι, 'to buy'), and Hercules crowns the boy king (cf. Figures 14.2 and 14.3).[13] Two negotiation sequences, then: one gone wrong and resulting in the death of treacherous Laomedon and one gone right resulting in the investiture of young Priam.

Now you recognize that on the opposite, west wall there are also two exchanges, one fatal and one fateful. First the centaur Nessus, in a spectacular three-quarter view, passes a casket to Deianira containing his poisoned blood which he has convinced her is a love potion to keep her husband Hercules from straying. Uniquely, in this representation Nessus is not battered and broken but stands his ground firmly on his comely horse-legs, fully an equal partner in this transaction (Figure 14.6a, far right).[14] The fatal consequences of it come only

13 Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.4.

14 Ov. *Met.* 9.101–102; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.5–6. Compare Nessus, Deianira, Hercules fresco from the tablinum (26), House of the Centaur, Pompeii (VI 9.3–6).

FIGURE 14.6A House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h) west wall Upper register (right to left from northwest corner): centaur Nessus and Deianira pass casket between them; Hercules seated on his funeral pyre which Philoctetes ignites in exchange for Hercules' bow & poisoned arrows
CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 1139

when Deianira applies the potion to a garment which Hercules dons. In agony as the poison sears his flesh, Hercules rips down trees and builds a pyre on Mt. Oeta, which he sits atop in the next scene. This too turns out to be a tableau of negotiation as Hercules can find no one to light the pyre until he strikes a bargain with Philoctetes to do so in exchange for the hero's bow and arrows (Figures 14.6a and 14.6b).[15] This is the first step in Hercules' apotheosis which, although no trace of it remains today, was once painted on the south wall and likely included Hercules transported to Olympus by chariot with Philoctetes, now in possession of the bow and arrows, as one of the witnesses. Philoctetes was to spend the first ten years of the Trojan War abandoned on Lemnos with his reeking foot-wound until it was prophesied that it was *only* with the bow and arrows of the hero who had once conquered Troy that the Greeks could take the city. Odysseus and Diomedes collect both Philoctetes and the precious

15 Ov. *Met.* 9.230–231; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7.

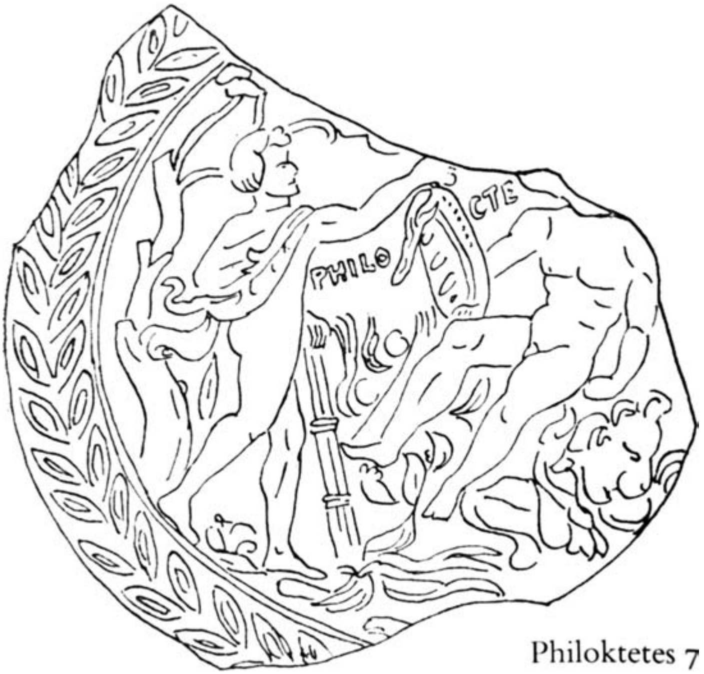

FIGURE 14.6B Line drawing of Gallo-Roman clay relief medallion of Hercules seated on his funeral pyre lit by Philoctetes who receives the hero's bow and arrows from Arausio (modern Orange) 1st century C.E.
CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 1139

bow and arrows, and Troy's fate is sealed in the bargain.[16] And this brings you full circle to Troy's first downfall at the hand of Hercules and the successful—albeit finite—negotiation struck between Achilles and Priam below it. A tour-de-force entrepreneurial conceptual structure this is, and you are convinced that Octavius Quartio is, after all, someone with whom you can do business!

2 Analysis

At this point we'll leave our fictive Roman entrepreneur to his nocturnal negotiations, but I will argue that his is a perfectly plausible reading of the room in Roman terms even though it is at odds with almost every word that has

16 Hom. *Il.* 2.718–725; Hyg. *Fab.* 36, 102.

been published on this house and its triclinium. Perhaps in part because of its opulence, the house has had the misfortune of becoming the poster child for what I call the trickle-down theory of culture. The house of Octavius Quartio has been described as a "tasteless miniature villa" which tries to cram all the features of true aristocratic villas into a "Walt Disney world" imitation.[17] Since Vitruvius designates scenes from the battles at Troy as 'pictures designed in the grand style' (Vitr. 7.5.2), the *Iliad* frieze has been a particular point of focus and roundly condemned: "the sequence of episodes is illogically organized" and "the heroic compositions have clearly been reproduced without a great deal of care or conviction."[18] Even relatively sympathetic recent readings like that of Katharina Lorenz, who sees the interplay between the two friezes as an attempt to elevate the life of Hercules to epic status, nonetheless criticizes the "awkward arrangement across the room" of the *Iliad* frieze.[19] Michael Squire recognizes the rhetorical potential when "two different narrative moments collide" yet complains that following Homer "means coiling around the room in an s-shaped formation": beginning with Apollo sending the plague to the Greek camp from book 1 on the southwest wall, then the book-9 Phoenix embassy in the southeast corner, across the room to the two battle scenes on the west wall from books 12 and 13, then on to Patroclus entering battle, Thetis and Achilles, and Achilles dragging the body of Hector on the north wall, then the funeral of Patroclus and Achilles and Priam on the east wall (Figure 14.7a).[20] But surely the fallacious assumption here and in all other interpretations of the frieze is that reading the story in episodic order was *ever* the point. This was a dining room, not a picture gallery. Catch sight of those juxtaposed, similarly composed nocturnal negotiation scenes—one already iconic—and you have found the fulcrum point around which the room revolves (Figure 14.7b).[21] That these are *night* scenes not only makes them all the more visually striking but also is of fundamental importance to their ability to mediate between the heroic past and the workaday present. This is a point I will return to in the conclusion, but first I need to call into question the false dichotomy between what we would call high culture and low culture which lies at the heart of the trickle-down theory.

17 Clarke 1991, 193; Zanker 1979, 480.
18 Ling 1991, 111–112.
19 Lorenz 2013, 240.
20 Squire 2014, 377.
21 The two nocturnal negotiation scenes are frequently compared in Homeric scholarly literature; see, e.g., Zanker 1994, ch. 3, 'Achilles' Disaffection' (73–97, on book 9), and chs. 4 and 5, 'A Brief Resolution: Achilles and Priam' and 'The Magnanimity of Achilles' (on book 24).

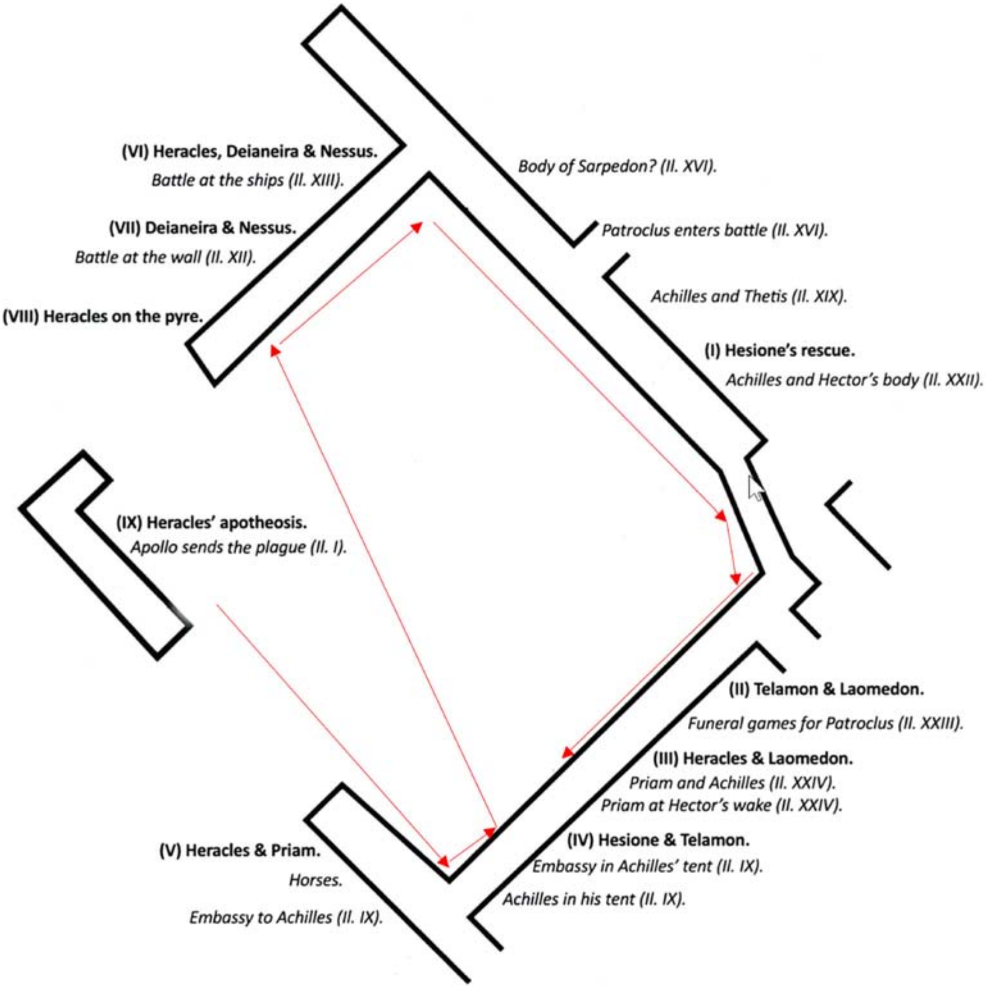

FIGURE 14.7A House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h). Linear reading following the text of Homer's *Iliad*

Greco-Roman literature suggests that epic is to be most closely associated with the elevated realm of the ruling elite, but as graffiti, inscriptions, and artifacts affirm, slaves often bore the names of heroes and even gods and so too did performers in the arena.[22] So, in Roman terms, there is no logical incongruity in a bronze gladiator's helmet emblazoned with the sack of Troy and Aeneas bearing Anchises prominently on display, nor in the female-gladiator specialty act of Achillia and Amazonia, who must have enacted Achilles vs. Penthe-

22 Horsfall 2000, 254; Cheesman 2009, 524; Bodel 2003.

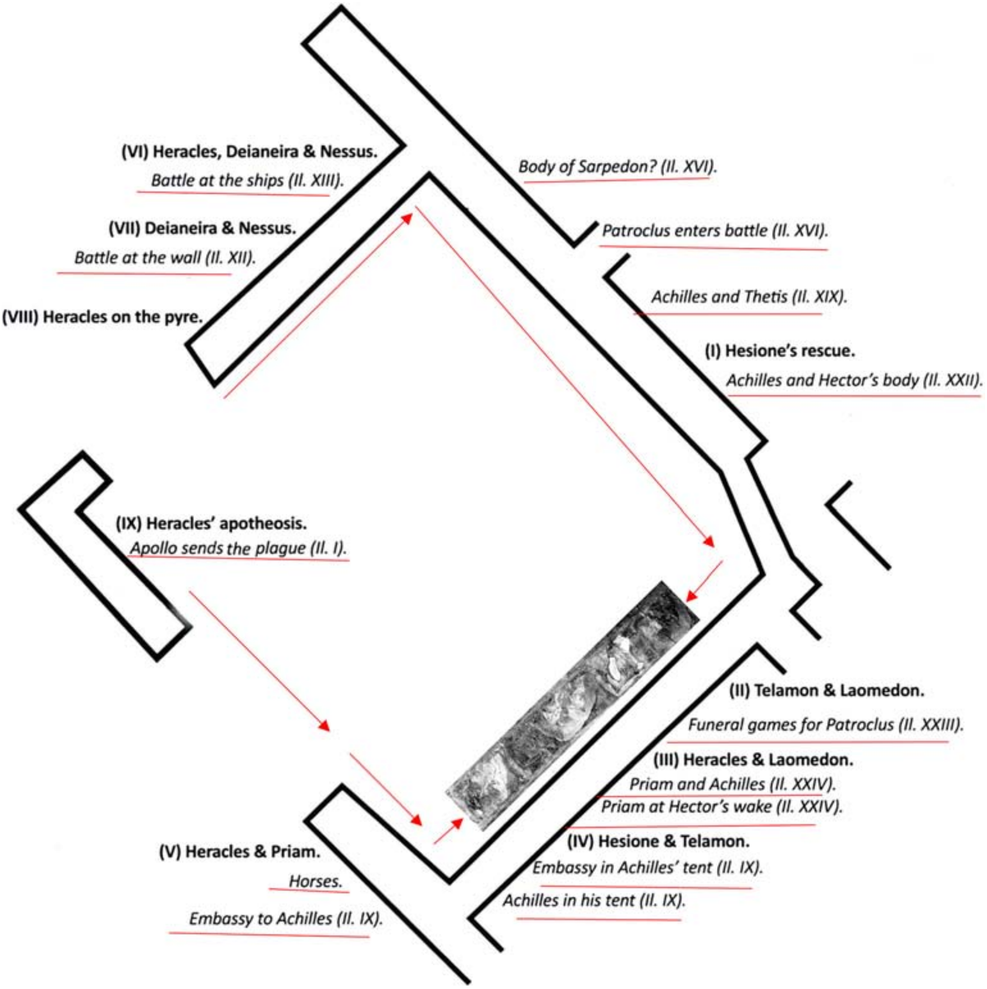

FIGURE 14.7B House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h). Nocturnal negotiation scenes as the fulcrum point around which the *Iliad* scenes revolve

silea to the delight of audiences time and again (Figure 14.8). Homeric heroes Achilles, Hector, and Diomedes all lived again—and died again—as gladiators in the amphitheater.[23] So too animal actors, especially horse teams in chariot races, along with victorious charioteer Publius Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus whose tomb records a winning horse named Badius.[24] The same Latin translit-

23 Junkelmann 2000, 194.

24 *CIL* 6.10047: Danaus B(adius) Af(rus); Papi 1999, 272–273. For the animal actors named in the room: Pollard 2018, 292–293.

FIGURE 14.8 Achillia & Amazonia female gladiators relief from Halicarnassus, marble, 1st–2nd centuries C.E.
LON, BRITISH MUSEUM 1847, 0424.19

eration of Achilles' famed pair of immortal horses Xanthus and Balius (now Badius) occurs twice in the *Iliad* scenes on the north wall of the triclinium: in the scene with Patroclus entering the battle in Achilles' armor and chariot (Figure 14.9) and, uniquely, in the scene with Thetis giving new arms to Achilles. They appear again, unlabeled, in the representation of the dragging of Hector's corpse around the walls of Troy.[25] In the epic, the immortal pair Xanthus and Balius (aka Badius) play an extraordinary role shedding human tears at the death of Patroclus.[26] And, like the 1960s equine TV star Mister Ed, Xanthus actually speaks, reminding Achilles about his fate.[27] Their triple presence here, quadruple if you count the two beautifully painted horses at the beginning of the night-scene sequence, and the overall preponderance of horses around the room—the horses of Tros, the well-muscled horse legs of the centaur Nessus,

25 Spinazzola 1953, 991–994 (Patroclus), 994–995 (Thetis), 995–997 (Hector).
26 Hom. *Il.* 17.432–440.
27 Hom. *Il.* 19.404–417.

FIGURE 14.9 Watercolor reconstruction of Patroclus entering battle in Achilles' armor and chariot with painted labels of his name and the names of the horses Xanthus and Badius from the north wall, House of Octavius Quartio triclinium (h)
SPINAZZOLA TAV. XCI

the horses of Hercules' chariot of apotheosis, and the chariot races depicted at Patroclus' funerary games—all suggest that these compositions were custom designed for Octavius Quartio, who must have had a passion for horses and chariot racing. So far as we know, Pompeii had no circus racecourse, but as the fresco from the House of the Quadrigae (VII 2.25) suggests, the thrill of this sport was one Pompeians knew well. The interchangeability of the world of the circus and that of epic which the triclinium implies, is something the emperor Nero understood fully. While still a boy, Nero was caught by his tutor bemoaning to another pupil the fate of a charioteer of the Greens who was dragged by his horses. When he was called on it, the future emperor turned on a denarius (as it were) and insisted instead that he was discussing the fate of Hector![28]

Just as slave, free, and freed characters in Plautus swear by Hercules, so the self-referential potential of these epic scenes applied across social classes and professions. When the noble Porcia and Brutus were about to part for the last time, Plutarch reports that Porcia caught sight of a picture of Andromache bidding farewell to Hector and wept, recognizing 'the image of her own sorrow presented by it' (Plu. *Brut.* 23). This, in turn, occasioned one of Brutus' com-

28 Suet. *Nero* 22.

panions to quote Andromache's moving "Hector, thou art to me father and honored mother and brother, tender husband" (= *Il.* 6.429–430). To which Brutus quipped in return that he would *not* address Hector's "Ply loom and distaff and give orders to thy maids" (= *Il.* 6.490–492) to Porcia. Just so, I am certain some freedman guest of Octavius Quartio spun his own tale of success in relation to the story of Priam, whose very name indicated he had once been purchased but who went on to become a king! And lest we think it was only high tragedy which could be played out in relation to stories from the *Iliad*, let us turn to one last example of Priam's ransom of the body of Hector on a first century C.E. jug from the Berthouville Treasure. Here Priam, wearing a Phrygian cap, stands before a seated Achilles. Visible, just to the right, is a scene which is represented in full beneath the handle: the weighing of the body of Hector to determine the amount of the ransom. In the *Bacchides*, one of the ever-popular plays of Plautus, the clever slave character Chrysalus ('Goldie') spins the storming of a brothel as the sack of Troy and puns on Priam's name and selling in a joke drawn ultimately from the fourth-century BCE Greek playwright Diphilus' play *The Merchant*, in which a buyer is complaining about the high price of fish: 'I don't know that I've ever seen fish more expensive. By Poseidon, if you took 10 per cent from the price of them each day you would be by far the richest of the gods. Yet if one of them were to smile winningly at me, I would pay up, albeit with a groan, at how much he was asking. Well, I bought a conger eel and paid for it as much as it weighed in gold, as Priam did for Hector.'[29] Of course, the humor here revolves around the comparison of the body of Hector to that of the conger eel, but it certainly insists that the world of fishmongers and commerce were not incommensurate with Homeric epic and that construing both friezes through the lens of the paired nocturnal-negotiation scenes brings into focus how transaction and exchange permeate the depictions throughout this grand dining room.

I want to emphasize, however, that although I am arguing that this is the underlying visual structure of the room it was not a strict or unidirectional program per se. The structure was there to be seen—or not—by any shrewd businessman who entered but it also had the fluidity and flexibility in its details to provide points of reference and comparanda for most any contemporary deal gone right—or wrong. This interpretation is distinctively different from scholarly attempts to establish programs in ancient painting which most often

29 Pl. *Bac.* 976–977 (slave character Chrysalus): 'Now if there is any buyer for our Priam, I'll sell him at a reduced rate; I'll put him on sale as soon as I've conquered the city' (trans. de Melo). Cf. Diph. *Emporos* fr. 31 and Cowan 2014.

have revolved around reconstructing lost original works of art[30] or have been predicated on themes both elevated and esoteric.[31] Here the common denominator was the everyday world of commerce and competition in which these stories played a part. And, as Alison Pollard's recent work on the graffiti in the room attests, the traces of interaction with these paintings that remain name the local gladiators and circus horses which they brought to mind.[32]

3 Night-Magic

In conclusion, I would point out that the fact that the two key juxtaposed Homeric negotiation pictures were both night scenes is not incidental but integral to their transformative power. In a space designed for evening use and for meals that were typically long and languorous, the night scenes would have initially been anticipatory for guests entering in the waning light of day's end. The familiar iconic grouping of Priam kneeling before Achilles was the one most likely to catch the eye and sufficient to pique the viewer's curiosity about its relation to other scenes in the room. As conversations ebbed and flowed, the possibilities for any and all of the representations to enter into them were multiple: the exigencies of commercial transactions and circus races to be sure, but so too the realities of the recent civil wars of 69—never good for business—and the role that pictures of the Trojan War had played in the discussion of civil war in an earlier era where they served as a reminder that good men died on both sides. For those of a more literary bent, the innovative use of some of these very scenes in contemporary poetry might have entered the conversation. Writing sometime during the 70s CE, Valerius Flaccus made Hercules' rescue of Hesione, his recognition of Laomedon's treachery, and the part his quiver of arrows would play in Troy's final downfall a high point of book 2 of the *Argonautica*. So these stories were activated in new ways.[33]

In fact, it was likely only when night fell and the lamps were lit that the full impact of the fresco night scenes became apparent. In the play of light and shadow the figures themselves blurred and the potential for the mutual per-

30 Heslin 2015, *passim*.

31 Wirth 1983.

32 Pollard 2018, 292–293 and 299–301.

33 V. Fl. 2.451–578. In contrast to these Pompeian frescoes, Greek symposium ware vases featured painted scenes of night violence against the weak and the vulnerable (the murder of Dolon, the rape of Kassandra, etc.) and would likely have inspired very different conversations—see Mylonopoulos 2018, 173–200.

meability of past and present became all the greater. At night, specters walk, but so too, boundaries that are untraversable during the day may be crossed.[34] Priam and Idaeus' journey through the Greek camp led by Hermes has often been compared to a journey through the Underworld, but it is only in that in-between space of the night that two erstwhile mortal enemies can meet, extend sympathy to one another, and come to agreement. This spirit of negotiation both animates and unites these two seemingly disparate fresco series, and the ancient stories represented were reanimated in the present tense each time a successful agreement was made during the course of an evening meal. No aristocratic trickle-down was this nocturnal fantasy: it was the efficacious night-magic of the entrepreneurs of Pompeii.

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34 See the chapters of Damon, Pieper, Sancinito, and Beerden in this volume for other, often more sinister, aspects of the night.

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CHAPTER 15

Persius' Nocturnal Inspiration in the Light of Day

Jennifer Ferriss-Hill

1 The Morning After

The opening scene of Persius' third satire—cracks of late-morning light entering a room to illuminate a still-sleeping snorer—has traditionally been read as offering a portrait of an individual experiencing a setback in the pursuit of the proper Stoic life, with the poem as a whole an exhortation to philosophy.[1] Stoicism is undeniably central to the work,[2] as it is to Persius' satire more broadly: his worldview everywhere on display is rooted in Stoic beliefs, and he is known to have studied with Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, the Stoic philosopher and rhetorician who also taught Lucan. Yet to read the opening vignette as concerned exclusively with a lapse in living Stoically does not adequately explain the prominence I see accorded in it either to drunkenness or to writing: how is drunkenness specifically a failure in Stoicism, and how does the failure to write contribute a particularly Stoic flavor? I propose that Persius' third satire is not primarily "a wake-up call to study philosophy,"[3] but is concerned rather with satire—what it is and how one can produce it: a failure at nighttime (and subsequently daytime) writing of verses fueled by drinking has apparently resulted only in a hungover would-be poet. I begin by elucidating the importance of writing to the poem's opening scene and arguing that we are invited to reconstruct the events that have led to this moment. Next, I connect the poem with others in Persius' corpus and with key themes in Roman Satire and ancient literature more broadly. And finally, I show how the middle and ending of satire 3 participate in a complete narrative of a twenty-four-hour cycle.

Satire 3 opens in the voice of a narrator looking down upon what is momentarily revealed to be a version of himself. 'This again' (*nempe haec adsidue*), he says, indicating that whatever the sight before him, it is far from an iso-

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1 So the scholarship from Jahn 1843, 141 (the poem is about living '*philosophia magistra*'), Knickenberg 1867, 16–19, Gildersleeve 1875, 120, and Conington 1874, 50 to Harvey 1980, 78, and Reckford 2009, 65.

2 Cf., e.g., the reference to 'the wise portico' (*sapiens porticus*), i.e., the school of Stoics housed in the Stoa, at line 52.

3 Reckford 2009, 63.

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lated occurrence. 'Already the clear morning is coming in through the windows and stretching out the narrow cracks with light' yet 'we are snoring' (*iam clarum mane fenestras / intrat et angustas extendit lumine rimas. / stertimus*, Pers. 3.1–3), the first-person plural verb *stertimus* unifying narrator and late-sleeper as one and the same.[4] The general temporal setting supplied by *clarum mane*, itself unusually specific among Persius' satires,[5] is pinpointed further as the fifth hour (*quinta dum linea tangitur umbra*, 4), eleven o'clock in the morning, and a great deal of the day has already run its natural course (5–6). A hint as to the source of the snoring follows: 'we are snoring an amount that would be enough to settle the untamed Falernian' (*stertimus, indomitum quod despumare Falernum / sufficiat*, 3–4). Although some have resisted understanding the snorer as suffering the after-effects of drinking wine to excess the previous night (Falernian, though among the finest available, was proverbially strong),[6] the list of symptoms that follows can leave little doubt: the speaker seems about to throw up ('a glassy bile is swelling,' *turgescit vitrea bilis*, 8)[7] and to be afflicted by the proverbial pounding headache ('I'm split open, such that you would think the herds of Arcadia were bellowing,' *findor, ut Arcadiae pecuaria rudere credas*, 9).[8] These symptoms are taken up again and elaborated further at lines 58–59 where the sleeper, evidently having fallen asleep once more (or perhaps he never awoke at all—the words he utters at 7–8, *verumne? itan? ocius adsit / huc aliquis*, may be read as imagined by the narrator),[9] is 'still snoring' (*stertis adhuc*). *Oscitat hesternum* is a further indicator of his present condition in addition to the nausea and headache: the over-

4 Though others have resisted the association, e.g., Gildersleeve 1875, 121 ("Ironical First Person, excluding the speaker"); Hendrickson 1928, 335; Kissel 1990 (the "soziative Plural" typical of diatribe).

5 Kissel 1990, 367.

6 So already the scholia (at Jahn 1843, 293), though Housman 1913, 17 accuses those who suppose the sleeper to have been "drunk last night" of misunderstanding lines 3–4 and Nisbet 1963, 54 likewise objects: "Persius does not say that he was drunk, only that his snores could have coped even with Falernian."

7 *Vitrea* being evocatively suggestive both of color and of translucency; see Jahn 1843, 145; Jenkinson 1980, 79; Kissel 1990, 381.

8 So Reckford 1998, 349–350; 2009, 82, 95 ("splitting headache"; he discerns a further nod at Persius' "split or splitting personality"), though *findor* has more commonly been taken to mean 'I burst with rage' (Harvey 1980, 80; cf. the scholia at Jahn 1843, 295; Gildersleeve 1875, 122; Kissel 1990, 381–382). Alternatively, if the verb means 'I am split open,' it might mark the culmination of the process that *turgescit vitrea bilis* had indicated was underway, with *Arcadiae pecuaria rudere* thus becoming a simile for the sound of vomiting.

9 Kissel 1990, 437 is among those who understand the late-sleeper to have fallen asleep once more.

sleeper suffers lingering tiredness and emits unpleasant odors as he lounges about and yawns widely, with *laxum … caput* ('floppy/hanging head') suggesting reclining in sleep or rest, *conpage soluta* ('joint loosened') that the neck is bent rather than holding the head upright, and *dissutis undique malis* ('with your jaws unstitched on all sides') that the unstifled reflex has stretched the sleeper's mouth uncomfortably wide open.[10] The 'thing of yesterday' (*hesternum*) he yawns out (*oscitat*) manages to convey that yesterday's activities are responsible for the individual's current state as he continues to suffer their after-effects,[11] and it betrays the nature of these activities through what are evidently the odiferous breaths that emerge.[12]

The snorer, who had summoned someone, anyone at all, to no avail (7–8), next reaches for writing instruments, perhaps from his supine position:[13] 'now the book and the two-colored vellum, hairs removed, comes into my hand, and sheets of paper, and the knotty reed-pen' (*iam liber et positis bicolor membrana capillis / inque manus chartae nodosaque venit harundo*, 10–11). Despite having available to him the finest materials,[14] his efforts are in vain and he is roundly mocked by the narrating voice even as this voice participates in his first-person plural verbs of complaint (Pers. 3.12–17):

> Then **we complain** because thick moisture hangs from the reed-pen. But the black squid-ink disappears when water is mixed in, [and] **we complain** because the nib doubles the diluted drops. Oh you who are wretched and more wretched every day, **have we** really **come** to this? Ah,

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10 Harvey 1980, 94; Kissel 1990, 437–438.

11 Gildersleeve 1875, 131 rightly explains, "yesterday's yawn, because it comes from yesterday's debauch," and the scholiast already compared Verg. *Ecl.* 6.15: *inflatum hesterno venas … Iaccho*.

12 Cf. Kissel 1990, 438. The difficult verb *despumare* in line 3 (cf. the scholia; Conington 1874, 51; Harvey 1981, 80; Kissel 1990, 377–378, with Luc. 10.163) may have served to anticipate and emphasize *oscitat hesternum* since, as Kissel points out, it occurs in an unusual transitive usage.

13 Although Harvey 1980, 81 says "the scene changes" at line 10, there is nothing in the text to require this, and indeed *in … manus … venit* seems a more natural phrase to describe a person lying down and reaching for something (the same suggests itself at Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.112–113, on which see below), especially given the suggestion at 58–59 that he has fallen asleep once more, than to describe the taking up of a pen by one sitting at a writing-desk. Kissel 1990, 383–384 assumes that the youth is about to embark upon "wissenschaftliche[n] Studien," though as he points out the verb *studere* is used in this absolute sense only in Imperial prose; for *studere* as encompassing bookish pursuits including *scribere*, see *OLD* s.v. *studeo* 4.

14 Kissel 1990, 383–384.

why don't you rather, like a tender dove and the boys of kings, demand to eat mashed up bits of food and in your anger reject your mother's/nurse's singing of a lullaby?

tum ***querimur*** *crassus calamo quod pendeat umor.*
nigra sed infusa vanescit sepia lympha,
dilutas ***querimur*** *geminet quod fistula guttas.*
o miser inque dies ultra miser, hucine rerum
venimus*? a, cur non potius teneroque columbo*
et similis regum pueris pappare minutum
poscis et iratus mammae lallare recusas?

No sooner has this individual taken up his writing implements, then, than they fail him: the ink is either too clumpy and blobby or too diluted and prone to come out in excess quantities. At last he cries out, 'am I really supposed to work with a pen like this?' (*an tali studeam calamo*, 19)—the familiar humorous artist's complaint that he cannot possibly be expected to work under such conditions and that the blame for his inability to produce anything must lie somewhere other than with himself. Despite the appearance of writing and study alongside the lengthy description of the central figure's physical state, however, the connection we are invited to make between the two has remained overlooked. Although the poem opens on a morning after a night before, readers have proven remarkably uncurious as to what precisely has gone on during this night of which we now behold the aftermath in the disinfecting bright light of the day.[15] This is all the more remarkable given the nods at the genre of satire itself in the marked language of the opening thirteen lines: a physical symptom, the bile that rises up, also suggests that the figure's literary impulses, which he characteristically struggles to contain, are satirical,[16] and his *nigra … sepia* (13) recalls Horace's own 'juice of the black squid' (*nigrae sucus lolliginis*, Hor. *S.* 1.4.100).[17]

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15 Hendrickson 1928 is the exception: by his reading, the student has promised his teacher that he has been hard at work but is found out the next morning (though he wholly overlooks the symptoms of hangover, explaining these away by other means).

16 *Bilis* is used of literary anger at Hor. *S.* 1.9.66, *Ep.* 1.19.20, and *Epod.* 11.16, and the term occurs also in *S.* 2.3 (line 141), a poem important for Pers. 3; bile as anger is prevalent also in Juvenal (5.159, 6.433, 11.187, 13.143, 15.15). On the satirist as compelled to express himself see especially Juv. 1.1–6, 30–31, and in this respect *findor* may suggest also the satirist's conventional anger that is, like his bile, irrepressible.

17 I am grateful to Ralph Rosen for pointing out the significance of both *bilis* and *sepia* for my broader argument. The "difficult" (Harvey 1980, 83) phrase *tibi luditur* (20) may also

The way of reading satire 3 set out here would bring the poem more fully in line with the rest of Persius' book, beyond their shared foundation of Stoicism, in two ways. First, Persius makes poetry and writing major themes of his satire from the outset: the first hexameter poem begins with a figure (apparently the poet himself) being taunted by a voice about who will read his verses, an exchange that leads into an excoriation of Rome's literary climate and tastes that runs for the entirety of the poem's 134 lines. This literary theme has been recognized as resurfacing in satire 5, which begins with an attack on verbose poets before leading into praise of Cornutus, but it may now be seen as persisting and thus as occupying an even more prominent place in the collection if satire 3 is included alongside satires 1 and 5.[18] Second, Roman Satire evinces dramatic qualities in an array of ways: Greek Old Comedy, New Comedy, and Roman Comedy may all be found represented in characters, settings, and themes from Lucilius through Juvenal. Of particular interest to the present discussion, however, are poems such as Horace, *Satires* 2.4 (*Unde et quo, Catius?*, 'From where are you coming and where are you going, Catius?'; itself modeled on the opening of Plato's *Menexenus* and *Phaedrus*) and Juvenal 9 (the speaker wonders why Naevolus frequently appears sad when they run into each other), which require the reader to realize that there is a backstory to the scene we are witnessing and invite him or her to fill in that backstory. Telling, too, is how easily such opening moments lend themselves to being described with the word 'scene.' If Persius 3 is read as making use of these two key themes of Roman Satire—its often self-referential concern with writing, and its potential as stage-play—it expands from neatly self-contained poem on a discrete topic (Stoicism) to one that reaches out to other poems in the collection, which in turn elevates it to a more central position in the book as a whole.

2 *Persius ipse*

As the poem goes on we learn some further details about its central figure as the tirade against this evidently youngish person, still in the process of being

engage with the common use of *ludo* to denote satirical playfulness (e.g., Hor. *S.* 1.1.27, 1.4.139, 1.10.37; Pers. 1.117, 5.16). Further Horatian echoes with literary undertones may be seen at 3.25–26 in the 'moderate amount of grain' (*far modicum*), the 'salt-cellar that is pure and undamaged' (*purum et sine labe salinum*), and the 'safe dish' (*secura patella*) and 'hearth' (*foci*), which recall the Horatian persona's self-professed moderation of lifestyle which mirrors his slender and humble writings (see Hor. *S.* 1.3.13–14, 2.7.30, *Carm.* 2.16.13–14 with Gowers 1993).

18 On the third satire as Persius' most difficult and understudied, see Abel 1986.

educated and molded, continues. His father's country villa produces a 'moderate amount of grain,' *far modicum* (24–25). He claims descent, albeit via an "absurdly diluted genealogy,"[19] from an Etruscan family. And he counts among his ancestors a censor and an equestrian. As Housman put it already in 1913, "I seem to myself to have heard of this young man before," for the description of this recalcitrant student's family and social standing matches precisely what we know of Persius himself: "he is a student (10–19), a member of an old Tuscan family (28), related to the local censor … himself a Roman knight (29), and finally a disciple of the Stoic philosophy (52–5)."[20] These mirror the biographical details supplied in Persius' *Vita*: 'born at Volaterrae in Etruria, a Roman knight, joined by blood and marriage-ties to men of the highest rank' (*natus in Etruria Volaterris, eques Romanus, sanguine et affinitate primi ordinis viris coniunctus*).[21] The suspicion that the hungover sleeper who cannot write must be Persius himself is reinforced by the narrator-interlocutor's declaration that 'I know you deep inside and in your skin' (*ego te intus et in cute novi*, 30)—in plainer English, "I know you inside and out." Nevertheless, as Housman 1913, 17 laments, "it is all in vain; he cannot make his editors believe that he means what he says." The general reluctance to accept Housman's reading lingers even today,[22] no doubt in large part due to the unfavorable portrait of the poet that would emerge.[23] At the same time, the reading makes abundant sense in light of Persius' penchants for exploring the possibilities of the dialogue form[24] and for presenting himself in his satire in the role of student,[25] and accordingly

19 As Harvey 1980, 85 explains *millesime* (28), "to the thousandth degree."

20 Housman 1913, 17.

21 The correspondences between these details of his *Vita* and *Satire* 3 are so close, in fact, as to make one wonder whether the information in the former came wholesale from the latter, but apart from the fact that little can be done to resolve this problem, the general reluctance to understand the central figure of the third satire as Persius himself speaks against such a borrowing. See further Reckford 2009, 82–87 on "autobiographical fragments" in Pers. 3.

22 Responses range from hostility or more mild rejection (Hendrickson 1928, 333 [the idea is "suggestive, and though fanciful … by no means impossible"]; Kissel 1990 [esp. 407–408]; Hooley 1997, 203–204 [Housman's proposal is "tempting" but "must really be set aside"]) to indifference/disinterest (Keane 2002, 224; Bartsch 2015, 146, n. 43, though cf. 194) and agnosticism (Braund 2004, 72: the haranguer "may be a friend, perhaps a fellow student, or his tutor, or even a superego voice inside his head"), or not acknowledging the possibility at all (Bramble 1974).

23 Keane 2002, 223–224 likewise speaks of the "checkered past" admitted to at 3.44–47 as "one factor" influencing "those who are reluctant to see the moralizing speaker as Persius."

24 See especially Jenkinson 1973, Squillante Saccone 2009.

25 See Henderson 1991, Keane 2002, Reckford 2009, 56–95.

some have begun to express tentative or qualified acceptance of the reading,[26] though none have ventured, as here, to propose including the poem among the others with notable metapoetic strains. One particular sticking point for the nay-sayers has been the speaker's reminiscence of faking illness in order to get out of performing a recitation for his father and his father's friends: 'when I was little I would often anoint my eyes, I recall, with olive oil, if I was not in the mood to learn the grand words of Cato when he was about to die, [words] to be much praised by my mad teacher, which my sweating father would listen to, his friends invited over' (*saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus oliuo, / grandia si nollem morituri verba Catonis / discere non sano multum laudanda magistro, / quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis*, 3.44–47). Persius' father, it is objected, had died when the poet was only six, hence the supposed memory cannot be Persius' own. Yet in addition to the fact that Persius may have been thinking of his stepfather or indulging in artistic license,[27] little in the vignette requires that the child be older than six[28] and the list of games that the boy would rather be playing (dicing; throwing counters into a jug; spinning a top; 48–51) seem those of a younger child.

Against this minor objection, then, which may be dispensed with, stands the notable overlap of the narrative voice of satire 3 with that of the oversleeping individual: first-person plural verbs such as *stertimus* (3.3), *querimur* (12 and 14, emphatically doubled), and *venimus* (16) serve to blur any distinctions among the figures present in the poem who number perhaps three,[29] and to assimi-

26 Smith 1969 wholeheartedly accepts Housman's understanding that the oversleeper is Persius, though not that the poem's main speaker is also Persius; for Jenkinson 1973, 521 with n. 2 it is "likely" that the figure is "Persius himself" or "a young man anyway"; Harvey 1981, 77–79 concludes, "Housman's interpretation is attractive and cannot be ruled out"; Morford 1984, 45 allows that "in a sense" the poem's first third is a dialogue between "the satirist's higher and lower selves"; and D'Alessandro Behr 2009, 231–232, describing the opening figure as "someone, probably Persius' persona," calls Housman's identification "possible." Most convinced perhaps is Reckford 1998, 337 (cf. 2009, 78), who argues that "(with modifications) Housman's intuition was basically right."

27 Cf. Smith 1969, 306 n. 4 (while this incident "probably never could have occurred in the life of the real Persius," "it is not inappropriate … to a comic version of Persius' life"); Harvey 1981, 79 (Persius may have "chosen to stray from historical fact or is referring to his stepfather"); Jenkinson 1980, 80 (since "Persius' father was dead at the time he describes," "this may be illustrative fiction or an abbreviated reference to his stepfather").

28 Although Roman boys began their education around age seven, the recitation need not be a *suasoria*, as is conventionally stated (Fletcher 1928 agrees), and children aged six and under are quite capable of memorizing and reciting for an audience.

29 Whether they number two or three has been much debated, and the matter hinges upon whether the attribution of lines 5–6 to *unus comitum* marks the introduction of a third figure into the poem (so Housman 1913, 18; Reckford 2009, 78–79) beyond sleeper and

late the speaker who harangues the student with the student being harangued. Persius is, to quote Housman once again, "both the subject and the speaker," and he "holds parley with himself" (1913, 18). Moreover, the figure's isolation (we recall that 'no one,' *nemon*, came when he called in 7–8) replicates that of Persius in his first satire, which opens with the satirist being forced to admit, in response to a combative 'who will read this stuff?' (*quis leget haec?*, 1.2) that issues from a voice wholly unidentified, that his readership is 'no one, by Hercules' (*nemo hercule*) or alternatively 'either two people or no one' (*vel duo vel nemo*, 1.3). The insight Persius grants us into his compositional process at 1.44 when he addresses his interlocutor with 'whoever you are, o you whom I just created to speak the opposite side' (*quisquis es, o modo quem ex adverso dicere feci*) is instructive also for his third satire, where he equally "writes as if he were thinking, but thinks as if he were addressing others."[30]

If we accept, as the evidence indicates we should, that Persius' third satire opens with a scene that shows the satirist himself in a compromised state—hungover, with nothing written, and unable to write anything—we find ourselves invited not merely to reconstruct the activities of the unseen night before, but also to make the middle and ending of the poem participate in a narrative arc that spans the entire poem. This arc, I will argue, takes us through the cycle of a day, ending at the moment when night, which we will once again not be allowed to witness directly, is about to commence again and provide a space for the same ruinous activities as before.

3 Night in Latin Literature

Nighttime as a locus for writing was a longstanding motif in Roman literature and society, and to such a degree that a term existed to encompass the activity—*lucubratio*. Ker (2004) details how prose authors might describe in their preface the *lucubratio* that the present work had required, as Cicero does in the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, Varro in *De lingua latina*, Aulus Gellius in *Noctes Atticae*, and Pliny the Elder in the *Naturalis historia*, each implementing the habits that Quintilian recommended for the orator-in-training in book 10 of his *Institutio oratoria*. As he notes, beginning in the year of Persius' death with Seneca's eighth epistle, there was a "flurry" of such mentions of nocturnal writ-

speaker. On the poem's speakers see further Smith 1969, Jenkinson 1973, Kissel 1990, 368–375 and 380, Reckford 1998, and D'Alessandro Behr 2009.

30 D'Alessandro Behr 2009, 235–236.

ing,[31] suggesting that there was something in the air during the early 60s CE about *lucubratio*—a contemporary cultural moment to which Persius gave the satirical treatment in his third poem. The necessary corollary to staying up all night working is to sleep late and thus be a *lucifuga*,[32] one who avoids daylight, and this, too, may have been in Persius' mind as he chose to open his third satire with the blinding brightness of sunrays entering a room.

The motif of the nighttime writer had also made its way into earlier Roman Satire. Night may be found providing a place for worry (Hor. *S.* 1.1.76), cover for illegal activities (theft at 1.3.116–117), and a time for drinking (as suggested at 2.4.51–53), while the inability to sleep at night and, as a result, spending the whole day snoring, is a sign of being mentally and ethically unbalanced (1.3.17–19).[33] At *Satires* 2.6.60–70, the countryside, the sleepy idle hours and release from cares that it affords, drinking wine, and literary pursuits find themselves intertwined with nights (*noctes*). I see Persius, however, having in mind two specific poems by Horace, each of which engages deeply with *lucubratio*, and one of which has long been recognized as standing behind the third satire while the other has not.

Widely recognized as formative for satire 3 is Horace, *Satires* 2.3.[34] 'You write so infrequently that you request a piece of vellum not four times in the whole year, unweaving all the things of writers, angry with yourself' (*sic raro scribis ut toto non quater anno / membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens, / iratus tibi*, 2.3.1–3): whatever little Horace writes, he undoes, being unhappy with it. Although the opening words may at first be suggestive of a lapse in epistolary correspondence, this is not borne out by what follows: the writing in question must be poetry, not least because a *membrana* would not have been used for a

31 Ker 2004, 209. As he points out later (220), Seneca may well have had in mind a famous contemporary who "slept by day and lived by night" (as at Tac. *Ann.* 16.18)—Petronius.

32 See Ker 2004, 219–227. On night-time writing and intellectual activity more generally, see in this volume Joosse (who sees night in Plato "as allowing for privileged cognitive access"), Rosen (who notes the importance of physicians' gathering information at different times of the day), and Wilson (on night as the time when the astronomer-poet both observes the heavens and writes about his observations).

33 See Rosen's chapter in this volume for the Hippocratic background to the idea that abnormal sleep patterns can lead to delirium and madness.

34 See Housman 1913, 18; Smith 1969; Korzeniewski 1971–1972; Hooley 1997, 206–229; Harvey 1981, 77; Kissel 1990; Reckford 1998, 351; 2009, 65, 80–82 (cf. 68–77); Rudd 2009, 118–123 (and more generally 107–137). It is frequently stated, following the scholiast's assertion (at Jahn 1843, 293), that Persius had in mind for his third satire also a poem from Lucilius' fourth book, but any resemblances seem superficial and Housman 1913, 16 and Kissel 1990, 374 are accordingly also skeptical that the scholiast's remark is especially meaningful.

mere letter.[35] Horace's indulgence in wine and sleep, detailed also in *Satires* 2.6 and the source of his present frustration and lack of productivity (*quod vini somnique benignus*, 2.3.3), has left him in 2.3 unable to produce *sermo*, 'conversation'—as in, 'correspondence,' but also, and especially, 'satire.'[36] This, despite the fact that the occasion for his retreat to the countryside was the Saturnalia (*at ipsis / Saturnalibus huc fugisti sobrius*, 5), the holiday of topsy-turvy license whose name and nature evoke *satura* and which accordingly might have been expected to prove productive for precisely this genre (though Horace avoided partaking: he remained sober, it is noted, just as he used nighttime for sleeping—two choices both unconducive to writing satire, as he has intimated elsewhere). Horace's interlocutor exhorts him to just get going: 'therefore say something worthy of what you've promised. Begin. There is nothing. In vain are the reed-pens blamed, and the undeserving wall suffers, born when the gods and poets were angry'[37] (*dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe. nil est. / culpantur frustra calami immeritusque laborat / iratis natus paries dis atque poetis*, 6–8).

The resonances with the opening of Persius 3 are evident: *membrana* is repeated in both contexts (Hor. *S.* 2.3.2; Pers. 3.10) as is *calamus* ('reed-pen'; Hor. *S.* 2.3.7; Pers. 3.12, 19) which Persius further supplements with *harundo* (also 'reed-pen'; 11) and *fistula* (14).[38] In addition, the short phrases such as *incipe* and *nil est* (Hor. *S.* 2.3.6) are found echoed in Persius' *verumne?*, *itan?*, *nemon?* (3.7–8), all highly colloquial. Moreover, blaming one's writing instruments may be for us a trope, but the pen that fails the writer is, remarkably, not found in Latin literature prior to its appearance in Persius 3 except at this moment in Horace.[39] Finally, and this seems not to have been noted before, Horace asks his interlocutor, one Damasippus, *sed unde tam bene me nosti?* ('but how is it

35 So Gildersleeve 1875, 122 ("the parchment for a more careful transcript" or used as a wrapper for loose sheets, as opposed to "the *papyrus* for rough notes"), Wickham 1891, 112 ("evidently for making a 'fair copy'"); though others (e.g., Johnson 1973, Kissel 1990, 384–386) have argued for the *membrana* as able to be scraped clean and thus as serving the same function as wax tablets. Nevertheless, the contrast with the *chartae* Horace asks for at *Ep.* 2.1.112–113 along with a *calamus* is notable.

36 As at Hor. *S.* 1.4.42, 48 (*bis*), 1.10.11; cf. Ferriss-Hill 2015, 43–44.

37 "The poet thumps the wall … when he feels frustrated": Muecke 1993, 133.

38 *Fistula* is "like 'calamus' … a synonyme of 'harundo'" (Conington 1874, 52; so, too, Gildersleeve 1875, 123), even if it is used "only here in the sense of 'pen'" (Harvey 1981, 82).

39 The commentaries to Horace and Persius refer exclusively to each other (e.g., Conington 1874, 53; Harvey 1981, 83), describing at most the "expansion" (Wickham 1891, 112; cf. also Muecke 1993, 132) of Horace's motif in Pers. 3. Closest perhaps is Cicero's mention of preparing pen, ink, and paper for writing at Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.15.1 as he comments that the materials with which a previous letter had been written proved inadequate.

that you know me so well?,' *S.* 2.3.17–18),[40] foreshadowing Persius' *ego te intus et in cute novi* ('I know you deep inside and in your skin,' Pers. 3.30). Persius thus transforms Horace's uncomfortable conversation with a critical and incisive interlocutor into an uncomfortable conversation with a critical and incisive version of himself—Horace, as so often, serving as "an essential interpretative link" without which Persius' compressed style would be "inconceivable," even unintelligible.[41]

Beyond these textual parallels that suggest Persius had in mind Horace's own failure to write, and to write satire specifically, as he composed his third poem, it may be added that Horace is portrayed in deeply compromised form throughout *Satires* 2.3: in addition to being a slow writer, he is inconsistent and hypocritical, lustful and greedy, vain, cowardly, and possessed of an unappealingly short temper (2.3.300–326). *Satires* 2.7, often considered alongside 2.3 and which similarly shows Horace in conversation (now with his slave, Davus), likewise reveals him to be short-tempered, fickle, cruel, and unable to bear hearing about his own faults. These shortcomings in character stand alongside physical ones to which Horace draws attention throughout his hexameter poetry: he tells us on a number of occasions that he is short and round (*S.* 2.3.308–309; *Ep.* 1.20.24, 1.4.15–16, 1.15.24), notes his prematurely gray hair (*Ep.* 1.20.24) and generally slovenly appearance (*S.* 1.3.29–34, *Ep.* 1.1.94–97), and details various eye infections and stomach ailments (*S.* 1.5.7–8, 30, 49).[42] As a result, Zetzel speaks of the "inability of his persona," Freudenburg of his "degradation," and Gowers of the "undignified caricature of the speaker."[43] The charge that Persius would

40 How, then, is it that Damasippus knows Horace so well? In the first place, Damasippus is the poet's creation (this is how Kissel 1990, 407–408 explains Pers. 3.30, *ego te intus et in cute novi*); and second, as Reckford 2009, 81 points out, "up to line 16 … when Damasippus is named, Horace could have been speaking to himself."

41 D'Alessandro Behr 2009, 240. The connection of Pers. 3.30 with Horace is strengthened by the fact that lines 31–34 are devoted to describing one Natta, familiar (see Ferriss-Hill 2015, 223, 240) from Hor. *S.* 1.6.124, though Persius' Natta, to whom the hungover snorer is likened, 'is dumb with vice and rich fat grows onto his sinews' (*stupet … vitio et fibris increvit opimum / pingue*), symptoms that have been taken metaphorically as describing "spiritual insensibility" (Harvey 1981, 87) though they are more concretely suggestive of alcoholism, in addition to meaning "heart" (Conington 1874, 56, following the scholia at Jahn 1843, 299; cf. Harvey 1981, 29, 134; Kissel 1990, 410), *fibra* is also attested as meaning "liver" (e.g., Lucil. 1201, Cic. *Div.* 1.16, Verg. *A.* 6.600, Ov. *Met.* 15.1795, Prop. 4.1.104, Sen. *Her. O.* 947, Plin. *Nat.* 2.109, 11.190; cf. *OLD* s.v. *fibra* 4a: "a lobe [of the liver]"), and it was known to the Romans that excessive consumption of wine damaged the liver (and led to further illnesses such as dropsy/edema, see n. 61 below). In addition, *stupere* is found of drunkenness at, e.g., Ov. *Rem.* 806.

42 Note also the poet's humiliating wet dream at *S.* 1.5.85.

43 Zetzel 1980, 71; Freudenburg 1993, 212–223; Gowers 2003, 85.

not present himself in the unflattering light in which we see him in satire 3 therefore rings hollow when this poem is considered alongside Horace's self-portrayal in *Satires* 2.3 as throughout his *Satires*. Indeed, it is well established that ancient comedo-satiric poets employed poetics of abjection to enhance the humor of their work and their likelihood of popular success. As Rosen has said of Cratinus' *Pytine*, for example, "the audience … understand[s] that the more abject and maladroit the poet makes himself, the more they laugh; and the harder they laugh, the greater the chance that the lowly poet will rise to the top" (2000, 35). The possibility that Persius is presenting himself in abject and grotesquely embodied form in his third satire is thus fully in keeping with the conventions and possibilities of the genre.[44]

Unnoticed in Persius 3, however, has been the presence of *Satires* 2.1, where Horace suggests that satire is written at night under a form of compulsion (Hor. *S.* 2.1.1–12):

> [HORACE:] "There are those to whom I seem too ferocious in my satire, and to strain my efforts beyond the law. The other half thinks that whatever I have written is without sinews entirely, and that verses like mine can be churned out at the rate of a thousand a day. Trebatius, what am I to do? Tell me." [TREBATIUS:] "Take a break." [H:] "Are you saying that I should not write verses at all?" [T:] "Exactly." [H:] "I'll be damned if that was not the best [advice]. But **I cannot sleep**." [T:] "Let those who need deep sleep swim three times, slick with oil, across the Tiber, and let them make their body soaked in wine before **nightfall**. But if such a great love of writing seizes you, dare to tell the deeds of unconquered Caesar, destined to carry off many prizes for your labors."

> *"Sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer et ultra*
> *legem tendere opus. sine nervis altera quidquid*
> *composui pars esse putat similisque meorum*
> *mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,*
> *quid faciam? praescribe."*
> *"Quiescas."*
> *"Ne faciam, inquis,*

44 See further D'Alessandro Behr 2009 on satire's attribution of grotesque bodies to its characters, and Henderson 1999 with Keane 2002 on the satirist's "image of imperfection (as well as self-disfigurement)" as being "as viable a model for the now-teaching satirist as any other" (Keane 2002, 224).

omnino versus?"
"Aio."
"Peream male si non
optimum erat. verum ***nequeo dormire****."*
"Ter uncti
transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto
irriguumque mero sub ***noctem*** *corpus habento.*
aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
praemia laturus."

Horace thus opens the poem, and with it his second book of *Satires*, by lamenting that his *satira*, that is, the poems of book 1, has struck some as too harsh, while others have found it toothless and too easily written, and he professes to be at a loss. Trebatius the jurist, his interlocutor, advises him to 'take a break' and Horace is aghast: *ne faciam, inquis, omnino versus?* ('Are you saying that I should not write verses at all?', 5–6). Although he admits the wisdom of this counsel, he protests, 'but I cannot sleep' (7), where *nequeo* communicates a deep-seated refusal of body and mind to co-operate with a normal circadian rhythm. It is not so much that Horace is up at night worrying about the disappointing reception his universally misunderstood satire received, or that *dormire* is a synonym for *quiescere* and that Horace means he cannot keep quiet,[45] as most take it. Rather, the declaration that he cannot sleep is tied up with his writing of satire: if he could sleep, he could stop writing satire, but he cannot sleep, thus he must write satire, and at night. Taking Horace literally, nevertheless, as any reader may as well, Trebatius prescribes remedies for sleep: it may, he explains, may be enticed to come through exercise and wine; but if Horace must write (the implication, again, being that writing, and writing satire, is the opposite of sleeping), he would be better off selecting a different topic—the achievements of Augustus, perhaps. But Horace cannot help it, he is in the thrall of the genre: 'what brings me joy is to arrange words in metrical feet in the manner of Lucilius' (*me pedibus delectat claudere verba / Lucili ritu*, 28–29). I see Persius having in mind not merely the general interest in *lucubratio* of Roman writers, foremost among them perhaps Seneca, but that of Roman Satire in particular, and above all Horace's *Satires* 2.1 and 2.3. These poems may

45 So Palmer 1883, Muecke 1993 ad loc.; Orelli 1844, 189 notes, "alii explicant: 'nequeo cessare, iners esse'."

have supplied not only "the scene of the late-rising irritable poet"[46] and the connection between poetry and wine, widespread in ancient literature as discussed below, but specifically the idea that *satire* is best produced under such circumstances, even (or especially) if the methods used are not foolproof and may not produce the desired result.

4 Nocturnal, Alcoholic Inspiration and Persius' Choliambic Prologue

As is evident from the opening of satires 3, Persius has gone further than Horace did in the *Satires*, adding to the literary motif of *lucubratio* a characteristic twist, for the motif of the night-writing poet has been combined with that of the wine-drinking poet in the extreme. A widespread trope in ancient literature, the boozy writer is conventionally traced back to Archilochus, fr. 120: '[that] I know how to lead the beautiful tune of lord Dionysus, the dithyramb, thunderstruck in my mind with wine' ([ὡς] Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος / οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας). The same provides the premise for Cratinus' *Pytine* ('Wine-flask'), where the poet, appearing as the play's protagonist, depicted himself married to Comedy but involved in an affair with Drunkenness. This allowed Cratinus to claim both a special insight into the art of comedy, since she was his wife and no one else's, and superior inspiration, since Drunkenness had chosen him, only him, as her lover.[47] Horace takes up the premise of *Pytine* and the language of fragment 203 (ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις σοφόν, 'no water-drinker could produce anything wise') as the opening of *Epistles* 1.19 (Hor. *Ep*. 1.19.1–3):

> If you believe ancient Cratinus, learned Maecenas, no poems can be pleasing nor live long which are written by water-drinkers.
>
> *Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,*
> *nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt*
> *quae scribuntur aquae potoribus.*

Yet Horace goes on to describe these wine-drinking poets in not altogether positive terms as 'mentally unwell' (*male sanos*), not unlike the daytime snorer of *Satires* 1.3, even as he numbers among them Homer and Ennius (*Ep*. 1.19.6–8).

46 Keane 2002, 223. Horace also writes hexameters at night (if the words are self-referential) at *Ep*. 2.1.112–113.

47 See especially Bakola 2010, 275–285.

The results of this inspirational method are not pretty: not only do the poets, after drinking all night, stink during the day (*non cessavere poetae / nocturno certare mero, putere diurno*, 10–11), but so even do the 'sweet Camenae,' who regularly reek of wine in the morning (*vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae*, 1.19.5)—the temporal setting also of the beginning of Persius 3. Horace's stinking poets and reeking Camenae may also be seen remade in Persius' *oscitat hesternum* (Pers. 3.58–59),[48] as he appears to have dutifully followed Horace's edict from *Epistles* 1.19 (*hoc simul edixi*, 'as soon as I declared this,' 1.19.10) that the poet drink and compose at night. Persius has thus combined in satire 3, to an extent not seen before, two ancient strands of inspiration. Having thus stayed up all night imbibing and attempting to write, he has woken in a horrible state.

The method of inspiration I suggest Persius has put to use in the narrative background to the opening of his third satire becomes even more striking when viewed in light of his own prologue, which can further inform us what is missing from the third satire but must have taken place as its narratological prelude. Persius prefaces his book of six satires with a choliambic poem in which he begins by rejecting various traditional modes of poetic inspiration (Pers. *Pr.* 1–6):

> I have not wet my lips in the horsey font, nor do I recall having dreamt on two-peaked Parnassus, such that I suddenly thus came forth a poet. I leave the Heliconian ladies and pallid Pirene to those whose busts the creeping ivy licks.
>
> *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino*
> *nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso*
> *memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.*
> *Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen*
> *illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt*
> *hederae sequaces.*

48 A further connection between the two poems exists through their shared mention of Cato the Younger: cf. Mayer 1994, 261 on the identity of Horace's Cato, while Persius' boyhood reluctance to learn and perform Cato's death-speech, a common rhetorical exercise (Gildersleeve 1875, 128), suggests engagement with Cato the Younger's apparently famous drunkenness (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.12, Sen. *Tranq.* 17). Moreover, if Persius had in mind the beginning of *Ep.* 1.19 also for the beginning of his third satire, he may also have been looking to the mention (and similar rejection) of Cato in lines 12–14 of *Ep.* 1.19.

Scornfully dismissed are the 'horsey font,' that is, Hippocrene, and Pirene, both sacred to the Muses, along with the notion of a dream-vision on Mount Parnassus.[49] Even the Muses themselves, the 'Heliconian ladies,' are sent packing, along with, later, the powerful motivating forces of hunger (*magister artis ingenique largitor / venter*, 10–11) and lucre (*dolosi spes … nummi*, 12). Yet one key trope is spared at the outset of Persius' collection: that of the poet who drinks wine and writes verses by night. Persius, we may infer, reserved this single source of inspiration so that he could put it to the literary test in his third satire[50] and in what proves to be a characteristically provocative and subversive manner, for notably his attempt at inspiration fails utterly: he wakes with nothing written, and unable to write anything. Although Horace had intimated that this method was productive (it worked for Homer, and Cratinus, and Ennius, after all), Horace himself fails to create by some of these same means in *Satires* 2.3 (*vini somnique benignus*, 'self-indulgent in wine and sleep,' 2.3.3), and whether the night-writing of satire in 2.1 is successful we are not told. We may thus reasonably begin to suspect that there is a special relationship between satire, in particular, and *lucubratio* that underlies Persius 3.

5 The Return of Night

No one seems to have had much to say at all about the ending of Persius' third satire: the commentaries simply trail off,[51] devoting very little space to a discussion of lines 116–118 in particular or to 107–118 more generally, and the matter of how the ending relates to the opening is not generally addressed.[52] I aim to show how the poem's ending may also be made consonant with its beginning through the reading proposed here.

The central portion of the poem that occupies lines 63–87 has been described as dealing with the need to reform one's morals quickly,[53] yet here,

49 On Persius' conflation from other literary sources of mountains and actions performed atop them see Harvey 1981, 10.

50 The 'crows' (*corvos*) of the prologue reappear elsewhere in Persius only at 3.61, drawing a further connection between the two poems.

51 E.g., Conington 1874, 71; Gildersleeve 1875, 140–141; Jenkinson 1980, 82. Housman 1913, 17–18 concerns himself only with lines 1–62.

52 Addressing the problem more directly, D'Alessandro Behr 2009, 241 says, "the composition ends without a real conclusion."

53 See Jahn 1843, 142; Conington 1874, 62; Gildersleeve 1875, 137 (who even suggests that "the unity of the Satire would gain by omitting 66–87"); Harvey 1981, 97 (who brands 77–85

too, may be discerned the tormented writer afflicted by symptoms that are perhaps also self-inflicted: in rejecting philosophical inquiry,[54] the 'member of the hairy tribe of centurions' (*aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum*, 77) also rejects composing, as the philosophers 'chew over their murmurs and rabid silences to themselves and balance words on their jutted-out lips' (*murmura cum secum et rabiosa silentia rodunt / atque exporrecto trutinantur verba labello*, 81–82).[55] At line 88 begins what Harvey, in good company, describes as "an allegory" (1981, 99): "an ill man ignores his doctor's advice and comes to a grim end." He clarifies: "the passage clearly means that the spiritual degenerate who neglects philosophy meets with moral annihilation," specifically, that which comes from "antipathy towards Stoicism."[56] Yet as Harvey (95) notes, the "ethical questions" Persius selects for discussion are both "orthodox and very broad," which might well make the reader suspect that they cannot form the meat of the poem. Who, then, is the figure of lines 88–106 and how does he fit in with the other figures and voices in the poem? Although Pretor is right to say that line 88 "introduces a change of subject so abrupt that it should have been noticed by the commentators,"[57] the response has largely been one of lamenting the section as "irrelevant to the argument of our satire."[58]

Kissel, who rightly cautions against introducing new speakers and figures into the poem, is alone in discerning previously unrecognized similarities[59] between the youth that occupies the first half of the satire and the sick man of lines 88–106. In his view these consist of the fact that both are convinced their way of life is acceptable or useful while it results in certain specified fail-

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"irrelevant and confused"); yet Kissel 1990, 367, acknowledging the difficulties of the passage, states that scholars have found it the "Mittel- und Höhepunkt der Satire."

54 Cf. Jahn 1843, 159–161; Conington 1874, 65; Gildersleeve 1875, 119.

55 Conington 1874, 66: "slow balanced utterance." The striking verb *trutinantur* evokes with Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.29–30 (*Romani pensantur eadem / scriptores trutina*) the weighing of the verses from Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1364–1410), a play deeply engaged with poetic composition. In addition, the speaker of Pers. 3 wonders, 'is this what you **grow pale** over?' (*hoc est quod palles?*), just as Persius at 1.123–125 addresses a reader, 'you who, inspired by bold Cratinus, **grow pale** at angry Eupolis along with the great old man' (*audaci … adflate Cratino / iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles*); see further Ferriss-Hill 2015, 17–19, 209.

56 The anecdote as an exhortation to philosophy is evident also in the reading of Kissel 1990, 467–469; Hendrickson 1928 and Morford 1984, 45 have characterized the entire poem as a protreptic.

57 Pretor 1868, 47; his observation is endorsed by Gildersleeve 1875, 137.

58 Hendrickson 1928, 340, who finds 107–118 "still less closely related to the specific argument of our satire."

59 Kissel 1990, 368: "Analogien … unverkennbar." At 373 he cautions against "[einen] neuen, ad hoc erfundenen Ansprechpartner."

ures, yet other salient points of contact between the figure of 88–106 (and, later, 107–118) and the oversleeping snorer may also be discerned. Although the emphasis has been on over-indulgence in rich *foods* as un-Stoic (and foods are certainly mentioned at 74–76),[60] the man's foul-smelling breath (*aegris / faucibus exsuperat gravis halitus*, 88–89) recalls rather the 'reeking Camenae' of Horace, *Epistles* 1.19.5 and Persius' own *oscitat hesternum* (3.59), that is, it may be taken instead as a sign of *drinking* to excess. So, too, may his tremors/palpitations (*nescio quid trepidat mihi pectus*, 3.88), on the import of which the commentaries are silent, along with his swollen state (*iam cutis aegra tumebit*, 'already the sick skin swells,' 63).[61] The doctor he consults instructs him to rest (*requiescere*, 90),[62] yet on the third night after this episode (*tertia nox*, 91; not day, but night, notably),[63] he decides he feels better and visits a rich friend's house. Amid the patient's premature return to his earlier behavior, there stands out his intention to 'ask for mild Surrentine [wine] for himself, his flagon being moderately thirsty' (*modice sitiente lagoena / lenia … sibi Surrentina rogabit*, 92–93) before heading to the baths (*loturo*),[64] although he remains pale and jaundiced, swollen and puffy (*heus bone, tu palles* and *surgit tacite tibi lutea pellis*, 94–95).[65] Although they have not been read this way, these are (and were known to the Romans to be) symptoms of over-drinking. Jaundice is given as a result of drinking by Hippocrates at *Internal Affections* 36 (256), and at *Epidemics* 2.1.10 (83), 'dropsy, jaundice, and poor healing of sores' (καὶ ὕδρωπες καὶ οἱ ἴκτεροι καὶ αἱ δυσελκίαι; a sore is mentioned at Pers. 3.113) are said to appear in those who are pale as the result of a hepatic disease (cf. *palles*, Pers. 3.94, 96).

60 Conington 1874, 67 emphasizes the dangers of feasting (which naturally included drinking) and bathing on a full stomach, as do Gildersleeve 1875, 137 and D'Alessandro Behr 2009, 225–226; on the latter cf. Hor. *Ep*. 1.6.61 (*crudi tumidique lavemur*), which Persius is said to have had in mind. The scholia allow that Persius may be speaking of "ebrietate aut aliis vitiosis desideriis" (at Jahn 1843, 306).

61 The "dropsy" of which the commentaries vaguely speak (Jahn 1843, Harvey 1981, 95) was known by the Romans to be associated with over-consumption of wine: drunkenness is said at Hp. *Int*. 28 (240) to be harmful to the liver, and malfunction of the liver was a known cause of dropsy (*Int*. 24 [228], *Aff*. 22 [234], Gal. *Nat.Fac*. 2.8 [109]), as were 'bilious states' ([ἐν] τοῖσι χολώδεσι, Hp. *Coac*. 446 [684], 635 [732], cf. Pers. 3.8).

62 The verb recalls Trebatius' *quiescas* at Hor. *S*. 2.1.5, perhaps intimating that the figure is to 'take a break' from writing satire.

63 This is universally understood as a reference to the ternary (rather than quartan) fever; cf. Conington 1974, 67; Kissel 1990, 467–468.

64 On these cultural and medicinal practices, see Conington 1874, 67–68; Jenkinson 1980, 81; Kissel 1990, 467–472 with Hor. *Ep*. 1.6.61.

65 The repetition of the form *palles* at 94 and 96 draws further attention to its earlier occurrence at 85, further suggesting that these may all connect to the same at 1.124.

Moreover, it is one final *drink* that kills this man, who has continued to emit foul breaths (*gutture sulpureas lente exhalante mefites*, 3.99).[66] Kissel identifies the disease from which the man is suffering as malaria, but this does not allow for a compelling link to be made between the patient's return to his normal activities—drinking in particular, but also eating and bathing—and the return of his disease: such activities would not be the proximal cause of the return of malaria. They are, however, precisely the proximal cause of the return of symptoms of over-drinking. In addition, the patient is clearly said to resume his usual activities once he feels slightly better; he is not, as generally assumed, bathing in order to regulate his feverish temperature or drinking Surrentine wine solely for its supposed medicinal properties.[67] So, stuffed full and bathing (*turgidus hic epulis atque albo uentre lavatur*, 98), 'while he is drinking a tremor comes over him and knocks the hot cup from his hands, his bared teeth chatter, then oily appetizers fall from his hanging lips' (*tremor inter vina subit calidumque trientem / excutit e manibus, dentes crepuere retecti, / uncta cadunt laxis tunc pulmentaria labris*, 100–102). An elaborate funeral follows (103–106), and Reckford is virtually alone in seeing the poem's images of "the leaky or broken *vas*, sinking into a coma, sudden death" as "truly horrifying."[68]

At line 94 already someone has begun to interject, a figure whom Conington and Harvey identify as an acquaintance whom the ill man has bumped into on his way to the baths, and of whom Gildersleeve says, "Persius hauls out his man-of-straw, his *souffre-douleur*, and makes him talk."[69] But rather than introducing yet another, and a rather nebulous, speaker into the poem (as indeed Kissel, above, discourages), we might do better to continue to understand that his third satire shows young Persius in conversation with an older, wiser, or simply different version of himself.[70] Thus the word *heus* that begins 94, "an exclamation used to attract a person's attention,"[71] would act not within the anecdote but rather redirect the reader back to the present moment of the satire's narra-

66 Although the theme continues that of 3.58–59, the association has not been made. The scholia explain *gutture sulpureas lente exhalante mefites* as "non coctum cibum ructans" (at Jahn 1843, 308).

67 So Kissel 1990, 467–468.

68 Reckford 1998, 340; cf. 2009, 87–91.

69 Gildersleeve 1875, 140; Conington 1874, 68; Harvey 1981, 100.

70 Part of the humor surely lies in the fact that the older, wiser Persius is a young man's version of an older, wiser person, since the poet died when he was 29 (*Vit. Pers.*: *decessit autem vitio stomachi anno aetatis XXX*). Reckford's 2009, 81 understanding of the "companion/advisor (*comes*)" as Persius' / the sleeper's "internalized voice of reason and conscience" differs little from mine.

71 Harvey 1981, 100.

tive. Persius *senior* (as it seems convenient to call him) has related a cautionary anecdote to Persius *iunior* (88–93) and amid this, I suggest, *senior* exclaims to *iunior* about the latter's pallor (*heus bone, tu palles*, 94). *Iunior* denies his obvious unwell state (*nihil est*, 94), which may and should be connected to that of the poem's opening. *Senior* insists (*videas tamen istuc, / quidquid id est. surgit tacite tibi lutea pellis*, 94–95), *iunior* doubles down on his denial and insults his elder to boot (*at tu deterius palles, ne sis mihi tutor. / iam pridem hunc sepeli; tu restas*, 96–97), where 'don't be my tutor' (*ne sis mihi tutor*) in particular works well as a retort from a younger to an older self.[72] Although the words that follow, *perge, tacebo* ('go on, I'll be quiet,' 97) are universally punctuated as a separate utterance and understood as spoken by the doctor who at this moment gives up attempting to help his patient (the sense of *perge* then being 'continue [behaving as you have been]'),[73] I would take the words to be continuing *iunior*'s address as, having tempered his irritation and become just for a moment conciliatory, he allows *senior* to finish the anecdote (98–106).

A second passage with problematic punctuation begins at line 107:[74] 'touch my veins, you wretch, and put your right hand on my chest; there is no heat here. Touch the tips of my toes and my fingers; they are not cold' (*tange, miser, venas et pone in pectore dextram; / nil calet hic. summosque pedes attinge manusque; / non frigent*, 107–109). Not a reply by the imaginary additional person to whom the poem's main narrative voice is relating the cautionary tale,[75] this again seems better taken as spoken by Persius *iunior* to Persius *senior*, and thus we may return to the poem's opening: the young, previously hungover Persius is vehemently denying to his older self, with whom he has been engaged in conversation throughout, as Housman saw, that he resembles in any way the person from the anecdote of 88–93 and that he remains afflicted at all by his own yester-night's activities.

72 The reminiscence at 3.96–97 of Hor. *S.* 1.9.28 has rightly been noted (Conington 1874, 68; Gildersleeve 1875, 138; Rudd 2009, 123).

73 For the traditional punctuation see Jahn 1843, 36; Conington 1874, 68; Gildersleeve 1875, 51; Kissel 1990, 472–475 (who is useful on the debate concerning the punctuation and thus the putative speakers of 94–97).

74 See Kissel 1990, 483–484.

75 E.g., Conington 1875, 70: "some person not specified." Gildersleeve 1875, 119–120 first suggested that the speaker is "perhaps none other than the yawning youth, whose acquaintance we made in the beginning of the Satire," and he is followed by, e.g., Smith 1969, 308; Jenkinson 1973, 537 ("it cannot be denied that the most satisfactory identification" is that "he is the Sluggard of lines 1ff."; cf. 544) and 1980, 35 (who marks the speaker as "self"). Kissel 1990, 473 understands the speaker of 98–106 to be Persius, though not his addressee as a younger Persius.

Elder Persius is rightly unconvinced by these denials since he knows what the arrival of night portends, for the figure in the anecdote (who heads back out drinking on the third night despite his lack of meaningful improvement) as for young Persius (Pers. 3.113–118):

> Let us test your throat; a rotten sore hides in your tender mouth which it would hardly be right to scrape with plebeian beet. You feel cold, when a white fear raises up the hairs on your limbs; now, with the torch set out, your blood begins to boil and your eyes glisten with madness, and you say and do that which insane Orestes himself would swear is characteristic of an insane man.
>
> *temptemus fauces; tenero latet ulcus in ore*
> *putre quod haut deceat plebeia radere beta.*
> *alges, cum excussit membris timor albus aristas;*
> *nunc face supposita fervescit sanguis et ira*
> *scintillant oculi, dicisque facisque quod ipse*
> *non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes.*

Young Persius, his elder counterpart rightly discerns, remains ill, his condition both physical (cf. *ulcus*)[76] and psychological.[77] Despite his denials that his extremities are cold (109), his hairs stand on end from both cold and fear (*alges, cum excussit membris timor albus aristas*, 115) because night is falling. Although most read *face supposita* (116) as meaning that the patient is warmed by a fire, whether real of a sort[78] or metaphorical,[79] the phrase may also indicate the onset of night that is concurrent with the resurgence of the passions (*fervescit*; *ira*). The most basic sense of *fax* is that of a burning torch that provides, in the first place, light,[80] a usage perhaps foreshadowed by the *candelae* of the

76 Conington 1874, 71 takes *ulcus* to be an actual and physical ailment, others as a symbol of moral disease (Jenkinson 1980, 82; cf. 1973, 547–548) or as feigned entirely in order to avoid eating the humble foods on offer (Harvey 1981, 103; Kissel 1990, 485, 489–490).

77 In addition, the prospects of money and sex do not entice young Persius as they should, the elder suspects (*visa est si forte pecunia, sive / candida vicini subrisit molle puella, / cor tibi rite salit?*, 109–111).

78 Conington 1874, 71 understands it as describing the onset of fever.

79 Gildersleeve 1875, 141 explains, “the heart is the caldron and passion the firebrand”; Harvey 1981, 104: “the metaphor is of a boiling cauldron” where *face* “on a literal level denotes the arguments immediately preceding”; Kissel 1990, 491–492.

80 *TLL* s.v. *fax* IA = 6.1.400.70–401.69.

funeral procession (103).[81] So nightfall, which we have concluded brought on the destructive behavior of the figure in the anecdote (91) and, more critically, led to the events with which Persius 3 opened, now brings on madness again—not the simple mental derangement of a bad or failed Stoic,[82] but rather the compulsion to resume certain ruinous nocturnal activities: drinking and writing (satire).[83] Inverting and mirroring the sunlight that illuminates the snorer at the poem's opening, Persius has drawn attention to the fact that if one is to be a *lucifuga* and lucubrate, artificial light is needed.

The entirety of satire 3 seems well taken as describing the cycle of a day for Persius *iunior*, though it has not been taken thus. The figure, young Persius, wakes hungover, with nothing written and unable now to write anything. Although he has not improved by lines 58–59, the anecdote from 88–106 leaves him convinced that he is not at all like this man who ultimately dies from his disease (which also involves consuming wine at night—the very same circumstances that resulted in Persius' own state at the beginning of the poem). Improving a little as the day goes on, we are encouraged to imagine, Persius denies that he is or remains ill, in either a short-term or long-term sense. It soon becomes evident, however, that despite the cautionary tale related by his elder self-interlocutor, he intends to repeat the events of the previous night, gripped as he is by a sort of frenzy for drinking and writing, the suggestion is, as soon as the sun goes down and the torches must be lit. As in Hippocratic diagnostics, discussed by Rosen in this volume, the movement of time 'towards evening' (a recurring phrase) is 'especially ominous' (79) and turns out to mark, as it so often does, 'a sinister turn in a disease' (74). Persius' symptoms of physical illness are complemented by, and the result of, ones in his temperament, which compel him to do whatever it is he does all night long—the hours between

81 The force of *sub-* in *suppositus* may suggest that the torch is placed under or at the feet of the patient to illuminate him and his path, or that it is placed under the control of (*OLD* s.v. *suppono* 4), i.e., in the hands of the poem's central figure.

82 The madness of the proverbially mad Orestes with which the poem ends (*dicisque facisque quod ipse / non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes*, 117–118) is said to be aligned with the anger the figure experiences, since "anger is thought of as *insania*": thus, the poem's "final instance of spiritual infirmity is provided by the interlocutor's anger at the preceding diagnosis of his moral illnesses and at the failure of his challenge" to improve himself (Harvey 1981, 104–105).

83 Kissel 1990, 486 is right to say, "nach den ungeschriebenen Gesetzen der Gattung hat am Ende der einzelnen *sermones* eine möglichst kurze und unerwartete Pointe zu stehen," though he does not understand the poem's closing surprise as being that—despite the ample warning (88–106)—Persius will, now that night is falling, resume the activities that landed him in bed at the poem's opening.

dusk and dawn that we are never permitted to behold directly, in another manifestation of Persius' "rhetorical strategy … built on a systematic subtraction of information."[84]

6 Conclusion

Persius' third satire is more than merely an unflattering portrait of the student-poet for its own sake. The poem marries the desire to write verses with the inability to do so, an inability that stems precisely from a failed attempt at writing such verses by traditional wine-inspired means and at night. The poet's hangover, stemming from his nocturnal activities and brought into sharp focus by the late-morning light, becomes the reason for his ongoing writer's block: reaching for his pen and notebook, he finds that these also fail him, a hazard notably absent from earlier treatments of the motifs. In allowing us to witness the poet himself amid the aftermath of a failed nighttime attempt at literary inspiration by wine-drinking, Persius skewers the combined tropes, the single major sources of ancient Greco-Roman inspiration not rejected in his prologue. Persius is rejecting a well-established literary practice that can be traced back to Archilochus and casting further doubt upon the venerable practice of *lucubratio*, both traditional sources of and means to poetic and artistic value. If aesthetic success cannot be attained by wine-drinking and night-writing, with the two even practiced in tandem such that success should be all-but-assured, the reader is made to wonder by this especially perverse satirist, then how can it be attained? In addition, while Persius' abjection in his third satire is wholly within the norms of the genre, he has managed to add a typical twist to it: unlike Horace, who seems to present any undesirable aspects of his person as outside his control and as stemming from unfortunate social circumstances, Persius' compromised state is wholly self-inflicted, and all the more humorous for this.

Ultimately I would argue that Persius' third poem is, as is most satire, about satire. Indeed, there has been a hint that this is the case at line 78: *quod sapio satis est mihi*, 'what I am wise about / have good taste about is enough for me,' or perhaps better, to paraphrase, 'my expertise is in satire,' in one of many plays on *satis* and *satura* discernible throughout the genre.[85] Why does his chosen

84 D'Alessandro Behr 2009, 229, quoting and translating P. Pugliatti (1985), *Lo sguardo nel racconto: teorie e prassi del punto di vista* (Bologna), p. 203.

85 Compare, e.g., Freudenburg 2001, 32 on Hor. *S.* 1.1.120, *iam satis est*: "'enough now,' or bet-

method of inspiration fail him, as it also failed Horace in *Satires* 2.3, which, although it has similarly been described as concerned with ethical (specifically, Stoic) shortcomings, opens pointedly with a failure at writing?[86] Perhaps because such writings do not quite qualify as poetry, a faux-anxiety that surfaces again and again in Roman Satire.[87] This may be seen even in Persius' own prologue, where he dubbed himself *semipaganus*, a 'half-rustic' and 'half-citizen'[88] in the act of bringing his poetry (*carmen nostrum*)[89] to 'the sacred places of the poet-priests' (*sacra vatum, Pr.* 6–7):[90] the half-caste satirist and his writings do not quite belong amid the traditional hoary store of poetic output. This not-quite-poetry naturally cannot be produced by the traditional means of dream-visions on artistically meaningful mountains or drinking from special springs—or imbibing wine at night. Yet the attempt to produce satire by such means has not been utterly fruitless, since poem 3 undeniably exists. This, too, is clever and within the norms of the genre: rather than the nothing described in satire 3, we possess this description of a failure, and satire is, above all, concerned with how things can go wrong. In this way, if not exactly 'poetry,' then at any rate satire has been produced after all, through the apparently unproductive use and misuse of a traditional trope—the nocturnal, wine-drinking writer of verses—and something of aesthetic value has emerged from the night to be visible in the bright morning light.

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ter yet, 'it's satire now'." Kissel 1990, 459 notes the colloquial syntax and phraseology of *quod sapio satis est mihi*, which would lend further support to the words as self-referential (satire making, as often, good use of lower linguistic strata).

86 In fact, Reckford 2009, 82 characterizes Hor. *S.* 2.3 as concerned with "the loss of literary and social reputation" and Pers. 3 with "the possibility … of moral damnation," yet I would add that both poems are very much about both: Persius discerned these strains co-existing in Horace's poem, and while focusing on the one (ethics/philosophy) also ultimately gave the other (writing/satire) a greater prominence. Hooley 1997, 207–208 is right to discern that "Persius' satire is … in some crucial sense, a *reading* of Horace's poem."

87 E.g., Hor. *S.* 1.4.39–65.

88 See Ferriss-Hill 2015, 56–57 for discussion and bibliography.

89 As Zietsman 1981, 53 has noted, the phrase has resonances of Quintilian's characterization of Roman satire: *satura quidem tota nostra est* (*Inst.* 10.1.93).

90 On the resonances of *vates* see especially Newman 1967.

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